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The American Presidents

The Office and the Men

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Lincoln to Hoover

Edited by
FRANK N. MAGILL

Introduction by
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GROLIER EDUCATIONAL CORPORATION
Danbury, Connecticut

Roosevelt

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

1901–1909

There was something about Theodore Roosevelt that endeared him to his contemporaries and gave him while still living a cult following new in the annals of American political history. He won the presidential election of 1904 by a plurality wider than anyone before had ever achieved, and the succeeding generation of Americans saw fit to enshrine his memory in the granite of Mount Rushmore in the rather exclusive company of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln. The reputation of "America's President" is, however, now somewhat in eclipse, among both historians and the general public. That can be attributed in part to the fact, so neatly encapsulated by John Morton Blum's decision to entitle his study *The Republican Roosevelt*, that the name Roosevelt is now more likely to evoke images and memories of Franklin Delano than of Theodore. There are also other reasons, both more important and more revealing.

As exemplified in Richard Hofstadter's critical essay "The Conservative as Progressive," historians have had difficulty finding an appropriate political classification for Theodore Roosevelt. He once playfully described himself as a conservative radical, but such a category has little resonance in either American political or intellectual tradition. Although practically all historians recognize that he was a major figure in the evolution of the presidential office and in the structure of the national government and find some of his achievements noteworthy and admirable, few have been inclined to endorse him wholeheartedly. Historians with a conservative political orientation usually praise his foreign policy but are less attracted to his efforts at domestic reform. Their accounts tend to emphasize his personal ambition, his demagoguery, and his attempt to usurp congressional, judicial, and state powers and concentrate all the reins of government in his own hands. Historians with a leftist political orientation usually praise his domestic policies (though most believe that he could have done more, that his progressivism was too limited) but are likely to execrate his foreign policy for its imperialistic and nationalistic overtones and to feel, as Stuart Sherman once put it, that "he can never again greatly inspire the popular liberal movement in America." The point is that Theodore Roosevelt does not fit our conventional political categories, and hence we are not as comfortable with him as were his

contemporaries.

If Roosevelt were to have an opportunity to answer his critics, he would undoubtedly try to explain that his domestic and foreign policies were complementary and that in both realms he operated on the basis of a well-defined philosophy of history and politics. Privately, Roosevelt might even have been willing to acknowledge the basic truth of H. L. Mencken's observation that he believed more in government than he did in democracy. Though not quite *sui generis* in the American political system (he was, after all, the product of a regional class and culture with Federalist antecedents and sympathies), Roosevelt's views are probably more understandable when placed in a European context. His intellectual affinity with members of the British upper classes attracted to social imperialism and with the Bismarck who looked favorably on reforms that might strengthen the German national state is marked. Roosevelt not only adhered to and preached an aristocratic value system but also tended toward the European aristocratic view that both capital and labor were to be made subservient to the state.

Distressed by the deepening divisions between capital and labor that threatened the country internally, and attuned to the equally fundamental struggle for world power and position, Roosevelt envisioned a new kind of federal executive power to control the complex processes of the modern American industrialized state and at the same time advance the interests of that state in the international arena. Seeing more strength and promise for the American future than danger in the new industrialism, Roosevelt was not wont to advocate reform for the mere sake of reform. His first interest was in increasing the strength and cohesion of the American national state, and reform was often a means to that end, but he never had any intention of destroying or even seriously impairing the kind of corporate system that had brought the United States to the threshold of world power. The interests of the state were paramount, and both capital and labor had to be made to understand that. In a country where both the Left and Right have been historically suspicious of many aspects of governmental power and in a country that, as G. W. F. Hegel once observed, had no tradition of the state and was not yet a "real state," such views were what set Theodore Roosevelt apart from traditional American politics.

A Patrician in Politics

In the absence of a hereditary aristocracy, some historians have made the mistake of describing Theodore Roosevelt's family as upper-middle-class. Patrician is probably a much more meaningful class description. Only in comparison with the fortunes of the magnates of the new late-nineteenth-century industrialism could his family have been considered other than a very wealthy one. Roosevelt, the second of four children and the first son, was born on October 27, 1858, in Manhattan (one of only two American

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His father, Theodore Senior, was not only a merchant and banker in the family tradition but also a socially prominent philanthropist and reformer. His mother was Martha Bulloch, the daughter of a well-to-do and socially distinguished Georgia planter, a woman who was beautiful and socially adept, who was steeped in the manners and mores of the Old South, but was otherwise rather ineffectual. Young Theodore was reared in a family that was self-consciously aristocratic, devoted to values that transcended those of mere money-making, but a family nevertheless accustomed to power and influence. Such families, with their traditions of public service and *noblesse oblige*, had only scorn for upstart industrialists but had begun to discover that power in the United States was gravitating toward those with the great new fortunes, however rude their antecedents. Much of what Theodore Roosevelt did in later life can be seen as an effort to preserve a place in American public life for the patrician virtues with which he was imbued as a child and to neutralize the power of those who did not respect those virtues. It was precisely the peculiar social and political conditions attendant on nineteenth-century American industrialization that could turn a conservative into a reformer.

The stories are legion about how young Theodore, a frail, nearsighted, severely asthmatic child, acting on the urging of the father whom he idolized, built up his body to the point where he could endure incredible physical hardship. His has become a staple American success story, as much part of American folklore as Lincoln's rail splitting. It is very tempting, and many observers have succumbed to the temptation, to explain not only Roosevelt's devotion to the philosophy of the strenuous life but also the sum total of his political thinking and his conduct of the presidency in terms of his childhood personality development. Though useful, such an approach is not sufficient. It does help to explain certain facets of his personality—his courage, his confidence, his determination, and certainly his hyperactivity, but it is not nearly so compelling when it is used to explain the ends toward which his activity was directed. For that purpose, one must plumb his intellectual development and place him in his social context.

Roosevelt was educated primarily at home by private tutors. Two year-long trips to Europe and the Near East significantly broadened his horizons.

ırtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)

sevelt, 1885

He attended Harvard College, where he distinguished himself in natural history, a subject that in the age of Darwin was pregnant with political implications, and his overall record was good enough to merit election to Phi Beta Kappa. When, in later years, he tended to denigrate his undergraduate educational experience, it was probably because little at Harvard caused him to question the viewpoint of the class from which he came. He tended to judge his fellow students by whether they were gentlemen, and his own antecedents made easy for him the ascent of Harvard's social terraces—the Dicky, the Hasty Pudding Club, and the Porcellian, the last probably America's most exclusive undergraduate social club.

Although it is tempting to think of Roosevelt as unique in personality and viewpoint, his early views were common among his class. Neither the doctrine of the strenuous life nor that of the wisdom of cultivating military virtues was personal to Roosevelt or even of his own devising, but was rather the generational response of a group of patrician intellectuals profoundly influenced by the psychic legacy of the Civil War and at odds with the value system of business America. These men tried to counter the current business ethic with a social ethic of public service and a noncommercial lifestyle. Related to this was an attempt to reinvigorate the Federalist tradition in American history and to knock the Jeffersonian tradition from the pedestal it had so long occupied. Roosevelt's very first book, *The Naval War of 1812*, begun while he was an undergraduate and published when he was only twenty-four, strongly reflects this point of view. Though extremely technical in its discussion of naval maneuvers, it is also strongly anti-Jeffersonian and reflective of a lifelong commitment to preparedness and the necessity for leadership and the cultivation of the military virtues. As Richard Hofstadter put it, Roosevelt began his career as a member of an "American underground of frustrated aristocrats" who constantly complained of the alienation of education, intellect, and family reputation from significant political and economic power.

Though Roosevelt flirted with the idea of becoming a naturalist, as a result of interests he developed as a young child and cultivated all his life, one suspects that he ultimately decided that such a life was too contemplative and too removed from what his generation regarded as the battle for America's soul. He chose to attend law school (which he never completed) and to pursue what he probably hoped would be a lifetime of public service. What he never contemplated was a career in business. A triggering event may very well have been the Senate's refusal to ratify President Hayes's appointment of his father a collector of the port of New York. Roosevelt was extremely close to his father, had long since taken him as a model for his own conduct, and was desperately shaken by his father's death while he was still an undergraduate. Equally important may be the fact that on his father's death he inherited about $200,000, certainly sufficient in those days

to allow him to do whatever he wanted with his life.

Despite the counsel of his social set, who tended to assume a condescending aloofness toward ordinary politics, Roosevelt quickly joined the local regular Republican organization in New York City and before long was a successful candidate for the state assembly. Here personal trains of determination, ambition, and an aggressive hyperactivity may well have been decisive; Roosevelt was constitutionally incapable of sitting on the sidelines. "I intended," he said, "to become one of the governing class"; and if he could not hold his own with the rough and vulgar men who then dominated that class, "I supposed I would have to quit, but I certainly would not quit until I had made the effort and found out whether I was too weak to hold my own in the rough and tumble." Though sometimes dismissed for his dudishness, Roosevelt really had little trouble holding his own, and in the process he did much to recapture political power for the cultivated man and to make politics once more an attractive career for well-educated, talented men and women who thought of public service in terms other than personal aggrandizement. He virtually rehabilitated the idea of the patrician in politics; the result was not accidental but consciously intended. As Hofstadter has written, he was "the first reformer to understand how much the stigma of effeminacy and ineffectuality had become a handicap to reformers" and also the first to show others how that stigma might be overcome, to blaze a path by demonstrating and dramatizing the compatibility of education, social status, and reform with energy, vitality, and Americanism.

The energy he poured into sport, scholarship, politics, and even actual physical combat in the next two decades made him something of a national legend long before he became president and early gave him an unusual ability, as his friend Henry Cabot Lodge expressed it, to command the popular imagination. Even if there was no calculation in his early decision to try ranching in the then untamed Dakota territory (and he was not the only aristocrat attracted by adventure in the West), his identification with the West and with the outdoor life in general soon became a part of his political style, a means of identifying himself with an energetic, manly, and uncorrupted way of life, with the straightforward politics Americans idolize and yet never seem to achieve. Stories about his feats in the West eventually became a part, not only of his own personal political capital, but also of the American political legend. Roosevelt hunted grizzlies and cougars in the Rockies, matched shooting skills with Indian braves, captured armed thieves, and knocked out a tough in a brief barroom brawl. In real life he seemed to demonstrate precisely the frontier virtues he tended to idolize in his historical writing.

Roosevelt's energy was always prodigious. For example, in the twenty years between his graduation from Harvard and his accession to the presidency, he wrote nine books, including two serviceable biographies, *Thomas*

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Hart Benton (1887) and *Gouverneur Morris* (1888), and, while governor of New York, an extremely self-revelatory study, *Oliver Cromwell* (1900). He also published a major four-volume history of the early trans-Appalachian West, *The Winning of the West* (1889-1896), which was well received by professional historians and, though far from pro-Indian in point of view, demonstrated a considerable interest in and understanding of Indian culture.

None of this caused him to neglect politics and government service. He served three terms in the New York State legislature, where he developed a reputation as an exposer of corruption and a battler for the public interest. Though conventionally conservative in most respects, he did advocate state regulation of business in a few limited areas, and he early developed an aversion for both the judiciary's narrow devotion to laissez-faire economics and its seeming inability to understand the necessity of according priority to the public interest.

In 1886 he ran unsuccessfully for mayor of New York City in a famous three-cornered race with Abram Hewitt and Henry George, and he was appointed to the United States Civil Service Commission by President Benjamin Harrison in 1889. He was reappointed by Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, four years later and continued to serve in that capacity until appointed head of the New York City Board of Police Commissioners in 1894. On both commissions he managed to attract national attention and add to his reputation as an active and effective reformer. He proved to be a singularly adept administrator, combining a mastery of detail and careful planning with bold vision. Above all, he was a master at dramatizing the need for reform and using the press skillfully to that end. At the same time, he dramatized himself, and as early as 1895 some of his friends were predicting that he would eventually come to high national office, perhaps even the presidency itself. His political skills were especially apparent in his ability to establish a reputation for principled, nonpartisan administration of the law while keeping his fences within his own party carefully mended.

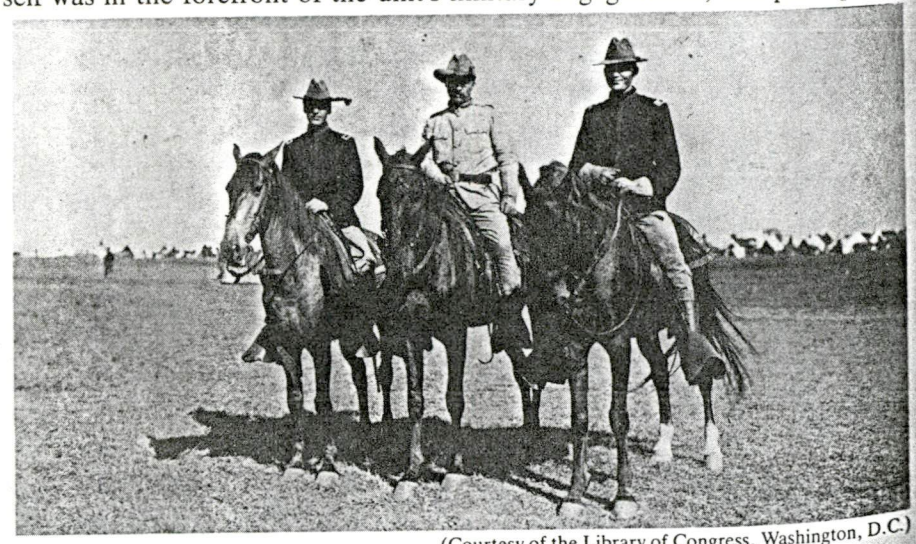
TR and the Rough Riders: The Spanish-American War

Through the advocacy and mediation of high-placed political friends, Henry Cabot Lodge foremost among them, Roosevelt was next appointed assistant secretary of the navy in 1897 by President McKinley, for whom he had conducted an extensive speech-making tour of the Northeast and the West. Long an advocate of naval expansion and preparedness, Roosevelt regarded this as a position of considerable substance and challenge. Handicapped by a public opinion and an administration that did not share his priorities, he nevertheless did much to prepare the navy for the struggle with Spain, which he not only foresaw but for which he fervently wished. Owing to Secretary John Davis Long's having taken the day off, Roosevelt found himself in actual control of the United States Navy on February 25,

1898, ten days after the destruction of the battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor. Acting on his own and with great dispatch, he ordered the Pacific fleet, commanded by Commodore George Dewey, whose appointment Roosevelt had been instrumental in securing, to stand by at Hong Kong prepared for combat with the Spanish fleet in the Philippines to prevent its movement across the Pacific toward the American mainland. He thereby set the stage for the Battle of Manila Bay and eventual American annexation of that large Asian archipelago.

Once the war that Roosevelt so long and vehemently advocated was declared, he, acting against the advice of friends and family, resigned his office and helped to organize a voluntary cavalry unit (under the command of Leonard Wood with Roosevelt as his second) composed of a few hundred cowboys, a good number of Ivy League football players, a few New York City policemen, fifteen American Indians, and assorted other adventurer types. Roosevelt strongly believed in leadership by example (a style not frequently cultivated in the United States): If one advocated a course of national conduct that entailed sacrifices, then one should be foremost in one's willingness to incur those sacrifices. The First Cavalry Regiment, quickly dubbed "The Rough Riders" by the press, with Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt as battle commander, saw brutal action in the hills overlooking Santiago, Cuba, and suffered extraordinary casualties.

Though undoubtedly brash on the field of battle, Roosevelt proved an excellent leader of men; he was not only a good motivator but also extremely solicitous of his men's welfare when it came to provisions. He himself was in the forefront of the unit's military engagements, and perhaps the



(Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)

TR with Rough Riders

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wonder is that he managed to survive. In the parlance of the day the war was a "splendid little one," and Roosevelt and his Rough Riders were soon returned to Montauk Point on Long Island. While still waiting to be mustered out in August of 1898, Roosevelt began to receive political visitors within a few hours of disembarkation. The year 1898 was thought to be a Democratic year in New York because of the charges of corruption that were rocking the current Republican regime. Roosevelt, owing to his war-time fame, was deemed to be the only Republican with even a chance of success. As a result the bosses came to Roosevelt, an event unlikely under other circumstances, and Roosevelt became the GOP gubernatorial standard bearer. He conducted an extremely vigorous canvass, seldom appearing without a vanguard of Rough Riders and never reluctant to talk about his recent military exploits. The result was a narrow victory and a two-year stint for Roosevelt as governor of the nation's most populous state.

Nothing short of the White House could have been a better testing ground for his ideas and abilities than was the governorship of a state such as New York, certainly urban and industrial but otherwise almost as diverse as the nation. Roosevelt's methods were by now familiar: He walked a fine line between consultation with the Republican bosses and the maintenance of his integrity and independence; he held almost daily news conferences and used the press as a means of getting advance reaction to proposals and of putting his own ideas constantly before the people; and he regularly sought the advice of experts in all areas of projected legislation. He popularized the idea of the neutral state—neutral, that is, between capital and labor but positive in promoting the general welfare. In but two short years he had boasted a considerable achievement, generally improving the quality of state administration by a series of excellent appointments and getting through a boss-ridden legislature bills extending the civil service system, treating franchises as real estate for tax purposes, increasing the power of factory inspectors, licensing sweatshops more rigorously, and regulating the hours of drug clerks and of employees on state work. Though by no means successful in all of his reform efforts, it is the opinion of the closest student of his governorship that he developed an excellent grasp of the mechanics of political power and had as governor already "worked out a philosophy and a program by which his party could attack the great domestic problems of the day."

Roosevelt certainly wanted at least a second term as governor, but that was not to be. By a congruence of circumstances as unusual as those that made him governor, he was chosen to run with McKinley as the vice presidential nominee in 1900. Thomas C. Platt, boss of New York Republicanism, clearly wanted him out of the state; a reformer so adept at politics was a definite menace to his power. Equally important, Roosevelt already had a strong national following and was particularly popular in the West where

Bryan, the likely Democratic nominee, had his greatest strength. The powers in the Republican Party regarded Roosevelt, not with affection, but as a considerable asset to the national ticket and so he proved, conducting a campaign exceeded in vigor—miles logged and speeches made—perhaps only by the exertions of Bryan himself. McKinley was reelected by a comfortable margin, and Roosevelt began to settle into a job, the vice presidency, so lacking in power and work to do that he expected to be bored and even contemplated a renewal of his legal studies.

President by an Act of Fate: Restoring the Stature of the Office

Then, less than a year later, in September, 1901, at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, yet another assassin changed the course of American political history by killing President McKinley and putting Theodore Roosevelt, that "damn cowboy" as Mark Hanna called him, in the White House. Roosevelt, not yet quite forty-three, was the youngest man ever to hold the office, and the powers that ruled the Republican Party had certainly never intended him to do so. Yet, he was almost supremely qualified; he had extensive administrative experience and was extremely well read and well traveled. Moreover, he was a serious thinker about major contemporary issues, both domestic and foreign, and he had both the makings of a program and the confidence that he knew what the country needed.

At home and abroad, his task was a formidable one. In domestic affairs the Republican Party had long since abandoned its Federalist and Whig antecedents and now stood for weak government, especially in the economic arena. The judiciary dominated American policymaking on economic matters, and the judiciary in this period was disposed to interpret the Constitution narrowly and reserve for the states all powers not expressly granted to the federal government. The problem was that the states were incapable of regulating the new giant economic concerns that spanned the nation. The revolution in business organization, production, and marketing that had so drastically changed the face of the nation in the last several decades had rendered archaic a constitutional and legal system that still assumed that the trusts were exercising private power in the same manner as had the small entrepreneurs who serviced local communities in earlier eras. Competition was no longer free; a few very large interstate corporations were too powerful to permit that, but they had a vested interest in pretending that conditions were still the same. The matter was complicated by the fact that Americans had no tradition of the state (even the Constitution was antistatist and restrictive of government power in philosophy) and had historically been susceptible to much antigovernment demagoguery. In addition to these factors, Roosevelt faced a congressional coalition of conservative Republicans. As representatives of the interests of the new mammoth corporations, these conservatives opposed a derogation of power from the judiciary and the states and Southe
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judiciary and the states and Southern Democrats, who feared any enlargement of federal power for their own regional and racial reasons. As Roosevelt saw it, his primary task was to reestablish the legitimacy of federal power, even of federal executive power, for neither the courts nor the legislative branch of the federal government was doing the job of protecting the American people from ravages of unrestrained corporate power. If he could not gain widespread popular support for federal restraint of this new great private power, the alternative appeared to be some form of socialism and that, he believed, was likely to inhibit the growth of American economic power and hence interfere with the growing international power of the American nation.

It has become fashionable to denigrate Roosevelt's achievements, especially in legislation, by means of invidious comparison with those of such successors as Woodrow Wilson and Roosevelt's cousin Franklin D. Roosevelt. The opposition to Roosevelt's plans, however, were formidable and so deeply entrenched that one should probably be more impressed by his actual achievements than by what historians writing in retrospect see as having been left undone. Certainly, he made the presidency once again, for the first time since Abraham Lincoln, a meaningful institution for most Americans, and certainly he not only greatly increased the scope of federal power but also did much to shape the nature of the modern American presidency. Woodrow Wilson, who as a political scientist had once detailed the workings of what he called congressional government, drastically revised and upgraded his estimate of the power inherent in the presidency as a direct result of witnessing Roosevelt's conduct of the office.

In his efforts to gain popular support for a larger federal role in the economy, Roosevelt was his own best asset; his enormous talent for publicity served him especially well. His was one of the great commanding personalities of American political history. Even his enemies were usually charmed. Moreover, as recent studies have shown, he was assiduous in his cultivation of the press and an absolute master at managing the news and securing headlines when it so served his purposes. As important as his management abilities was the fact that he literally reveled in the presidency. He enjoyed being president, he said; "I like the work and I like to have my hand on the lever." He also considered the White House (he changed the name from the more formal Executive Mansion) a bully pulpit, and he preached from that pulpit with great frequency and with considerable effect. He was one of the great exhorters of American history and was able to rivet the country's attention on Washington and, not incidentally, on himself. As George Will has written, "Because politics is 95% talk, and the Presidency is 98% talk, there's nothing the President can do on his own except move the country, and by moving the country with his rhetoric move Congress, and once Congress is moved, then, but only then, can he govern." No one

understood that better than Theodore Roosevelt.

As Roosevelt himself later wrote, apart from his belief in the need for more and better government, he did not enter the presidency with any deliberate planned and far-reaching scheme of social betterment. He offered no panacea or all-encompassing idea; indeed, he had an abiding distrust of those who did. He simply persuaded the voters that he had a conscience, that he would be fair, and that he knew how to lead. In domestic politics as in international politics, there were no final solutions; politics was only a means of reconciling conflicting interests. He was forever engaged in a delicate balancing act, gathering support by excluding from the national consensus only those at the extreme ends of the American political spectrum. As Richard Hofstadter commented, "The straddle was built, like functional furniture, into his thinking." He despised the idle rich, but he also feared the mob. The abuses of big business aroused his ire, but that did not mean that he was in favor of indiscriminate trust-busting. He favored reform, but that impulse was mitigated by the fact that he disliked the personality and methods of the militant reformers. Roosevelt coined the name "muckraker" and it was not meant to be complimentary, yet there was some truth to House Speaker Joseph G. Cannon's charge that TR himself was the chief muckraker, a master at arousing the indignation of progressives against the practices they considered antisocial. He never attacked the violent Left on one side but what he also execrated the plutocracy, the "malefactors of great wealth," on the other side. He often deliberately and publicly offended the big businessmen who contributed to his campaign, but at the same time he distanced himself from what he called "the La Follette type of fool radicalism on the left." This made for excellent political strategy under American political conditions, for he was telling the vast American middle class precisely what it wanted to hear. In performing this balancing act Roosevelt was doing two things, suggesting that somewhere was a golden mean and also that he was the one person best equipped to discover it. He had long since convinced himself that only someone of his class and background could stand above the fray, serving as a kind of impartial arbiter devoted to the national good and ensuring that right and justice would always prevail. One can applaud the effort without believing that he or anyone else is that capable of transcending his or her own interests.

Moral Government: High Ideals and Political Realities

For Roosevelt's generation the key to national consensus was moral government. The moral element always dominated his political rhetoric; he fancied his role as being that of "national moralist," and he once defined progressivism as "the fundamental fight for morality." He often claimed that "we are neither for the rich man, nor the poor man as such, but for the upright man rich or poor." He pushed this insistence on morality so far some-

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times that one of his advisers was once tempted to quip, "What I really admire about you, Theodore, is your discovery of the Ten Commandments." In all of this the similarity with Woodrow Wilson is readily apparent, but an important distinction needs to be made. Whereas Wilson thought that morality was God-given and that he was chosen to interpret it to the American people, Roosevelt, less the believer though nevertheless religious, usually thought of morality in terms of a cultural consensus—in other words, in political terms. Progressivism for Roosevelt was always little more than a search for standards of justice that all Americans could accept.

What worked well in generality was not necessarily that helpful when it came to concrete legislation. As a result it should not be surprising that both Roosevelt's major political programs, the initial Square Deal and the later New Nationalism, had a certain ambiguity about them.

His attacks on the corporate plutocracy were both vigorous and moderate. In his first annual message to Congress he declared, "There is a widespread conviction in the minds of the American people that trusts are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. This is based upon the sincere conviction that combination and concentration should be, not prohibited, but supervised and within reasonable limits controlled; and in my judgment this conviction is right." The following year he informed Congress, "Our aim is not to do away with corporations; on the contrary, these big aggregations are an inevitable development of modern industrialism, and the effort to destroy them would be futile unless accomplished in ways that would work the utmost mischief to the entire body politic.... We draw the line against misconduct, not against wealth." He thereby practically invited Finley Peter Dunne's famous burlesque of his remarks, "The trusts says he are heejous monsthers built up be the enlightened interprise iv th' men that have done so much to advance progress in our beloved country, he says. On won hand I wud stamp thim undher fut; on the other hand not so fast." Though gaining a reputation as a trustbuster, Roosevelt, when confronted by the complexities of antitrust often shifted from one foot to the other, moving to break up an unpopular holding company in the Northern Securities case and permitting United States Steel to take over a competitor in the Tennessee Coal and Iron case.

His attitude toward the labor movement was also rather ambiguous. The federal government had previously intervened in labor disputes, but heretofore as a strikebreaker for the employers. Roosevelt moved to make the government an impartial arbiter instead. His interest was not so much in strengthening the unions per se (though he thought strong unions a necessary countervailing power) as in strengthening the government. As in his dealings with the corporate plutocracy, he wished government to be paramount over the conflicting economic forces and neutral between their struggles. To his way of thinking, strengthening the state was the only way

of achieving social responsibility in an increasingly impersonal society. The large corporations had already corrupted (and the unions were on their way to doing the same thing) the old Jeffersonian individualistic ideal, and the result was not only an undemocratic society but also a chaotic and conflict-ridden one. Jeffersonian weak government was no longer sufficient. Democratic ends and national cohesion could now only be accomplished by Hamiltonian means, by more and stronger government.

Roosevelt was always cautious in confronting private power. He did not aim at breaking the trusts but at satisfying public concern about corporate power and hence heading off socialism. His solution from the start was regulation rather than dissolution. As TR explained in his *Autobiography*, it was the only workable solution:

> One of the main troubles was the fact that the men who saw the evils and who tried to remedy them attempted to work in two wholly different ways, and the great majority of them in a way that offered little promise of real betterment. They tried (by the Sherman-law method) to bolster up an individualism already proved to both futile and mischievous; to remedy by more individualism the concentration that was the inevitable result of the already existing individualism. They saw the evil done by the big combinations, and sought to remedy it by destroying them and restoring the country to the economic conditions of the middle of the nineteenth century. This was a hopeless effort, and those who went into it, although they regarded themselves as radical progressives, really represented a form of sincere rural toryism.... On the other hand, a few men recognized that corporations and combinations had become indispensable in the business world, that it was folly to try to prohibit them, but that it was also folly to leave them without thoroughgoing control.

Roosevelt wanted to work out methods of controlling the big corporations without paralyzing the energies of the business community. He feared the politics of big business, not its size. If government could get the upper hand, all would be well. He envisioned a new kind of federal executive power to control the complex processes of an industrialized state. In this, demonstrating considerable vision, he anticipated the methods of the future, the methods for the positive government of an industrialized society that began to emerge in the 1930's under his kinsman Franklin. Roosevelt always saw more strength than danger in the new industrialism and never preached reform for reform's sake alone. His first interest was in increasing the strength and cohesion of the American national state, and reform was a means to that end. He never had any intention of destroying the kind of corporate system that had given the United States the economic leadership of the industrialized world.

Roosevelt was a consummate political tactician. A master of the symbolic act, he chose both his issues and his enemies very carefully and always with an eye toward what actions were like
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an eye toward what actions were likely to advance his cause and which were likely to prove detrimental. He began his presidency very cautiously, assuring a worried business community that he would not only retain McKinley's cabinet but also would continue his policies for the peace and prosperity of the country. Before long, however, he had a well-nigh perfect issue on which to distinguish his administration from his predecessor's.

In 1902, J. P. Morgan contrived a massive merger of E. H. Harriman's Union Pacific with James J. Hill's northern railroads in an effort to control rail transport in a vast section of the Middle and Far West. Morgan offered Roosevelt a perfect target, the public having been sensitized to the trust issue by his recent spectacular consolidation of the steel industry. Roosevelt had his attorney general file suit against the Northern Securities Company, the holding company Morgan established to accomplish his ends, for violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. The suit was successful and was even upheld in a 5–4 decision by the Supreme Court, which had to admit, however reluctantly, that the railroad industry was engaged in interstate commerce and hence subject to federal power. Roosevelt himself viewed this successful Northern Securities prosecution as the most important achievement of his first administration, not because one further consolidation had to be prevented, but because the president had been able to thwart several of the country's leading business tycoons. In putting Morgan in his place, Roosevelt did what no recent president had been able to accomplish, and also gave considerable impetus to his plans for making business subordinate to government. When he went after other trusts, such as Standard Oil and the tobacco and meat trusts, he chose his targets well (all were already unpopular) and to the same end.

He had another opportunity to discipline monopolistic business in the summer and fall of 1902 as a result of the intransigence of the country's coal mine operators and their determination to crush the United Mine Workers. This was more than a fight between miners and a few coal operators. Seventy percent of the anthracite mines in the country were owned by six railroad companies, which were themselves controlled by the country's largest financial houses. Public sympathy was generally with the miners, not only because so many homes were heated by coal, but also because George Baer, president of the Reading Railroad and spokesman for the mine owners, had the audacity to declare that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be cared for, not by the labor union agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God, in his infinite wisdom, had given control of the property interests of the country." Roosevelt had his foil, and he yearned for some means of taking control of the industry in the public interest, the more so as a prolonged strike would likely damage Republican prospects in the November elections. He even seriously contemplated using federal troops to operate the mines; he realized he had no constitutional authority to do so, but

he let it be known that he was prepared to invoke the higher imperatives of government. He may have been bluffing, but J. P. Morgan got the message and twisted the appropriate arms. The result was an agreement on a presidentially appointed commission to arbitrate a settlement, but without any recognition of the mine workers union. The step was a small one; still, never before had there been a similar kind of federal government intervention in industrial life.

By 1903, public unhappiness with the nation's corporate hierarchy had become so great that Roosevelt was able to challenge another right that American business once considered sacred. Against the bitterest conservative opposition, he secured the passage of legislation that established a Department of Commerce and Labor and, within it, a Bureau of Corporations authorized to investigate and publicize suspect corporate dealings. Though the legislation had no real teeth and rested on the idea of inhibition under the threat of adverse publicity, it served to establish a public and governmental right to know as a means of holding private economic power accountable.

The Election of 1904: A Roosevelt Landslide

Roosevelt had to spend a good portion of his first term endeavoring to sidetrack a possible conservative challenge to his renomination. Mark Hanna was the most likely alternative, but the threat evaporated with Hanna's untimely death. Then in the fall of 1904, Roosevelt beat the Democratic nominee Alton Parker by a huge margin of 2.5 million votes, up to that time the largest plurality ever recorded, and he truly became president in his own right. Just when his power appeared to be at its height, he undercut it by announcing that he would under no circumstances be a candidate for reelection to a third term in 1908. Most of his advisers regarded that announcement as his greatest political blunder, and most historians agree. It may, however, have served his purposes rather well. Like strong presidents before him (Andrew Jackson, for example), he was probably more politically vulnerable to the charge of usurpation of power than to any other. In fact, Roosevelt had lived through an era of American history in which images of governmental usurpation had been regularly presented to the public by special interests trying to preserve their immunity from any form of public control. Moreover, as Richard Abrams has suggested, Roosevelt's action may not only have served to blunt such criticism but may also in his own mind have freed him morally to stretch the Constitution whenever his own view of the national interest seemed to require it.

By the end of his second term the conservatives in Congress had fought Roosevelt to a standoff, and he was forced to choose his issues carefully, eschewing tariff reform, for example, as not only divisive for his party but likely to detract from his own priorities as well. Nevertheless, his legislative

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**Domestic Achievements: Conservatio
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Domestic Achievements: Conservation and Other Topics of Progressive Legislation

The year of 1906 was the high-water mark for Roosevelt's brand of progressive legislation. The passage of the Meat Inspection, Pure Food and Drugs, and Hepburn Railroad acts demonstrated the president's political adroitness in the management of Congress and considerably advanced his larger purposes. These acts established the federal government as a major power in the direction of the nation's economic life, and taken together they might well be considered as marking the birth of the modern regulatory state. Each served to bring order to the economy by increasing the power of independent regulatory commissions, which alone, in Roosevelt's view, could provide the requisite "continuous disinterested administration." Each established a federal agency with not only investigatory powers but also the authority to fix at least some of the conditions under which goods could be transported and sold across state lines. The federal government's constitutional power to regulate interstate commerce was now stretched to include the supervision of the production of certain merchandise that entered that commerce. In the case of the Hepburn Railroad Act, the passage of which taxed all of Roosevelt's tactical and promotional talents, the Interstate Commerce Commission was even given limited rate-making powers, which meant in reality a form of price control unprecedented for the federal government. In retrospect, it is easy to minimize Roosevelt's achievements, both because only limited segments of the economy were made subject to governmental supervision and because in all three cases he had substantial support from business groups that had been placed at a disadvantage by the chaotic conditions and unfair competition that had previously prevailed, but all three acts established significant precedents and were an integral part of his long-range plans for shifting the nexus of power in American society.

Perhaps Roosevelt's greatest triumphs and most significant achievements lay in the area of the conservation and regulation of the nation's national resources. Though Presidents Cleveland and McKinley had made some effort to stem the tide, for years private interests, assuming it was their right, had been laying waste the timber, mineral, soil, and water resources of the West, just as they had once done in the older settled regions of the continent. Vast stretches of public land had been allowed to slip into the control of private interests under conditions of considerable corruption and without thought of preventing destructive use, requiring replenishment of renewable resources, or preserving portions for public recreational use. In this, as in so many other areas, Roosevelt sought expert advice. He was strongly influenced by an educated elite of new, self-conscious professionals (engineers,

scientists, and public servants), spearheaded by Gifford Pinchot and Frederick Newell, men with the vision to see that the long-term national interest required that the depletion of the nation's natural resources be stopped. The ideas (multiple purpose irrigation projects for the development of water and land resources, forest replenishment, parks for recreation and the preservation of wild life) certainly did not originate with Theodore Roosevelt, but without his ability to publicize them and invest them with the kind of moral imperative that captured the popular imagination, the results would probably have been rather meager. No doubt Roosevelt was sometimes demagogic in appealing to the public's antimonopoly sentiments and often simplistic in characterizing the conservation cause as a clear-cut struggle between special interests and the people, but here, too, Roosevelt's purposes were larger than assumed. Conservation was important per se, but the cause took on added significance because it was an area in which the business ethic and the social ethic were so clearly in conflict. Thus, Roosevelt was provided with a convenient vehicle for convincing the country of the desirability of increased federal power in the name of a higher public ethic.

Much was accomplished by way of legislation. The Newlands Reclamation Act of 1902, which earmarked revenues from the sale of public lands for the construction of irrigation projects, was an important beginning. During Roosevelt's tenure in office more than thirty such projects, including the Roosevelt Dam in Arizona, were launched. Congress also agreed in 1905 to establish the Forest Service with broad powers to manage the country's forest reserves. Roosevelt named Pinchot chief forester and, acting in tandem, they withdrew countless areas of public land from the clutches of private exploiters. In fact, the whole conservation movement depended to a large extent on the president's use of executive orders and other administrative prerogatives. Especially toward the end, Roosevelt was forced to achieve his purposes by some quick-footed maneuvering before Congress' efforts to restrict such orders could take legal effect.

Whereas some historians, their views colored by the legislative achievements of Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, fault TR for not having accomplished more as president, others see in his actions the seeds of the abuses of presidential power that came to mark what has been dubbed the imperial presidency. The charges are somewhat contradictory. Roosevelt could be arrogant and arbitrary in his use of power (as in his peremptory discharge of a company of black soldiers accused of a raid on the "good, white citizens" of Brownsville, Texas), and he certainly took both the Republican Party and a conservative Congress further in a progressive direction than they ever wanted to go. It is very unlikely that under prevailing political circumstances anyone could have done more (as subsequent events confirmed, the conservatives were very deeply entrenched in their control of the Republican Party), and despite all Roosevelt's efforts and achievements, the power that

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Foreign Policy: Imperialism and Noble

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Foreign Policy: Imperialism and Noblesse Oblige

Like all presidents, Roosevelt had more latitude when it came to the conduct of foreign policy, and that aspect of his presidency has been more severly criticized than any other. Not atypical is the comment of John Morton Blum that Roosevelt's "belief in power and his corollary impatience with any higher law presumed that governors . . . possessed astonishing wisdom, virtue, and self control. As much as anything he did, his direction of foreign policy made that presumption dubious." Critics, dominating historical discourse, have regularly derided his imperialism and his bellicosity, described by the appellation "Big Stick Diplomacy," and with almost equal vigor have denounced his supposed racist assumptions and the secret understandings he contracted with other powers. Even his manifest accomplishments have been minimized by reducing his own role in them. Such criticism has two wellsprings: Americans have never been able to agree about the basis on which the United States should conduct its foreign policy, and Roosevelt had some clear-cut ideas about how American foreign policy ought to be conducted and, moreover, tried to put them into practice. He probably deserves much better marks in this area than he has received.

By the time the mantle of the presidency descended on Roosevelt's shoulders, the United States, by reason of its great economic resources alone, was already a world power. By no stretch of the imagination, however, could it have been deemed a responsible world power. Severly hampered by an incompetent foreign service, impeded by a Congress lulled by America's safe position in the world into regarding foreign policy issues as little more than the sources of possible domestic advantage, and faced by a people who clung tenaciously to the isolationist shibboleths of the past rather than face the realities of a complex, interdependent, modern world, Roosevelt was nevertheless determined to make the United States a responsible force in international affairs.

Roosevelt presents historians with special problems; because we consider him a modern president, we tend to expect him to share our values. He was, however, the product of an age whose values differed markedly from our own. He was, for example, an imperialist, even a rather belligerent one, and no doubt he was also a militarist, in some senses of the word. He found it easy to divide the world into "civilized" and "barbarian" countries, and strongly believed that peace would never prevail "until the civilized nations have expanded in some shape over the barbarous nations." Like Walter Lippmann, he thought in terms of parceling out among the civilized nations stewardships over those who had not yet reached that stage, and he had no qualms about the use of military force to accomplish such ends. The American Civil War, to which he was closer in time when he became president

than we are now to World War II, had demonstrated for his generation the necessity of sometimes using military force to accomplish moral ends; only northern military superiority had saved the Union and abolished slavery. Moreover, many commentators of his generation and the coming of the First World War have emphasized its widespread willingness to risk or accept war as a reasonable solution to a whole range of problems, political, social, and international.

Roosevelt's imperialism was also of a special variety; it was almost naïvely idealistic and was dominated by a strong sense of *noblesse oblige*. He sincerely believed that the United States should endeavor to take civilization to the rest of the world, much as his father had organized Bible classes in the slums of New York City. The United States, as a specially advanced and privileged nation, had a moral obligation to play a major role in modernizing the backward peoples of the world. He strongly and publicly eschewed the imperialism of economic exploitation and was determined to make American administration of the Philippines a model, a means of showing the more exploitation-minded Europeans how it really ought to be done.

Though his successes were limited by a Congress intent on protecting local and regional agricultural interests, he expended considerable effort in trying to push through tariff arrangements that would give the Filipinos and the Cubans advantages in the American market likely to encourage their own rapid economic development. Moreover, he regarded imperialism as bound to be beneficial for Americans, not economically but morally. It would divert Americans from their preoccupation with material gain and set up a standard of conduct for a generation of idealistic young Americans who would administer dependent areas in such a selfless way as to remove even the possibility of the charge of American economic exploitation.

It has been fashionable to label Theodore Roosevelt a racist, but modern usage does not do justice to the complexity of Roosevelt's thinking. He was a historian, well attuned to the fact that the world's great civilizations had all eventually succumbed, whether to the vagaries of human nature or to superior military force. Though he proclaimed the superiority of Anglo-Saxon civilization in his world and celebrated its spread across the Earth's surface, he had a strong sense of the fact that such developments were not fixed for all time. His estimate of nations and peoples was always strongly conditioned by considerations of power. Although his attitude toward the Chinese, for example, was always one of condescension bordering on scorn, he was reacting much more to Chinese weakness than to Chinese racial characteristics, though it must be admitted that he sometimes had difficulty maintaining a rigid distinction between the two. Moreover, he never begrudged respect for individuals, regardless of race or ethnic origin, when he thought it warranted by achievement or character. The friendships he cultivated with foreigners and his appointments of blacks and other minority

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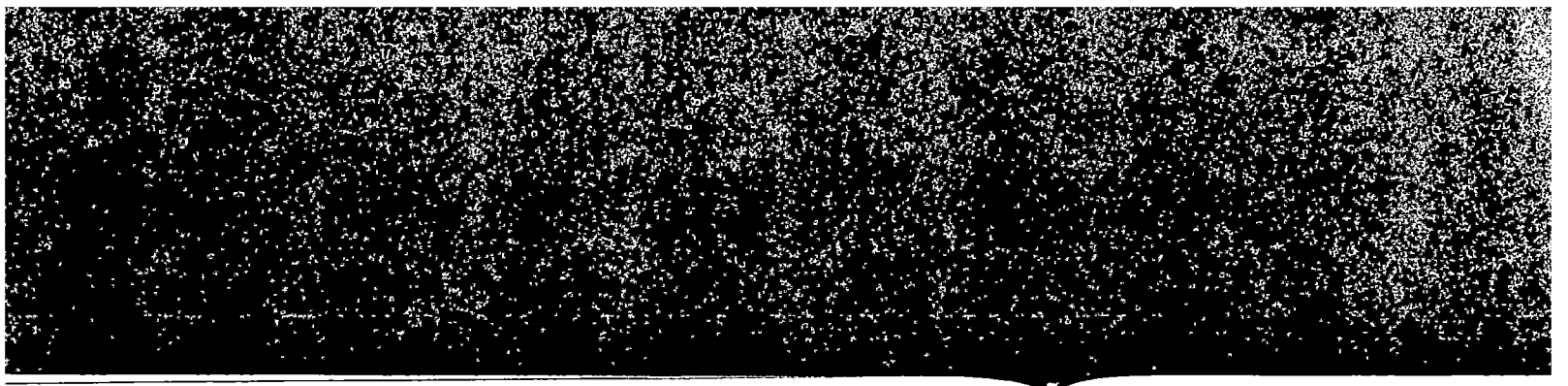
Particularly revealing in this regard was his attitude toward the Japanese. For them he had only great respect, a respect based almost entirely on their rapid economic development and especially on their demonstrated military prowess. In fact, Roosevelt, contrary to the views of most Americans, was quite willing to assign to the Japanese responsibility for civilizing and policing major portions of East Asia, likening Japan's paramount interest in the area surrounding the Yellow Sea to that of the United States in the area of the Caribbean. Not only did he believe that Japan deserved to control Korea but he also thought that she had a world historical role to play in bringing China "forward along the road which Japan trod" toward membership in the exclusive club of great civilized powers.

Much criticism has been directed against Roosevelt's actions in Central America and the Caribbean. Some of the criticism is justified, especially that concerning means (called by some, "Big-Stick Diplomacy"), but here as elsewhere it is important to understand that his object was not simply to advance the interests of the United States but to stabilize the region in the interest of peace and world order as well.

The Panama Canal

Roosevelt considered the building of the Panama Canal to be his greatest achievement in office and in later years was once so bold as to claim that he "took" Panama. His actions came under considerable criticism at the time; the Democratic Party took up Roosevelt's treatment of Colombia as a political issue, and the United States Congress later acknowledged its guilt by paying Colombia additional monies; if only after Roosevelt's death and in an effort to pave the way for American oil leases. The whole affair had its immediate cause in the publicity surrounding the ocean-to-ocean dash of the USS *Oregon* around Cape Horn in 1898 in a futile effort to bolster the American fleet before the Spanish-American War ended. The epic underscored the necessity for a canal across the Central American isthmus for security reasons. The idea had gained currency about the middle of the nineteenth century for economic reasons, and its attractiveness had grown as Californians and Westerners chafed under the transportation charges exacted by the great transcontinental railroad companies.

After the eruption of a volcano in Nicaragua lessened the attractiveness of that route, the Isthmus of Panama became the logical choice. A French company had once made an effort in that area and still held a valid charter. Panama had always been an unruly province of Colombia. During the course of the nineteenth century, Colombia had to cope with more than fifty insurgencies there aimed at secession, and at least four times Colombia had called on the United States, under a 1846 treaty in which the United States pledged to help assure safe transit across the isthmus, to assist in repressing



Panamanian rebellions.

Colombia was never averse to the construction of a canal across the isthmus (in fact, it initiated negotiations in 1900), but as American interest peaked it was prepared to exact a price. In January, 1903, Roosevelt offered Colombia $10 million plus a quarter of a million a year for a ninety-nine-year lease of a six-mile-wide canal zone. Congress also authorized a $40 million payment to the French Panama Canal Company to assume the company's rights to the route. The Hay-Herran Treaty embodying these terms was quickly negotiated and as quickly ratified by the U.S. Senate. It was, however, turned down by the Colombian Senate, acting under instructions from the Colombian dictator, who normally dispensed with his legislature entirely but had summoned it to consider the treaty while permitting it to pursue no other business. Basically, the Colombian dictator wanted to exact more money, which raised Roosevelt's dander and resulted in a flow of expletives directed at the Colombians, "homicidal corruptionists" being among the milder of them. To Roosevelt's way of thinking, such behavior lessened the regard he needed to pay to Colombia's sovereign prerogatives; moreover, he determined not to let legal technicalities stand in the way of the more fundamental moral imperatives wrapped up in the march of civilization.

Although it is true that Roosevelt contemplated a direct seizure of the isthmus, that action proved unnecessary. The Panamanians, with their own interest in the construction of a canal, soon rebelled against Colombian authority. The United States did not make the Panamanian Revolution, nor did it create the conditions that engendered the rebellion against Colombia's authority. The Panamanians, however, had good reason to believe that the United States would smile on their efforts. Roosevelt's instructions to the acting secretary of the navy were "to prevent the landing of any armed force, either Government or insurgent," and although this was technically in accord with the American obligation (under the 1846 treaty) to preserve transit across the isthmus, its effect was to block Colombian military efforts to suppress the new insurgency instead of aiding those efforts as had sometimes happened in the past. Roosevelt hastily recognized the new Republic of Panama and quickly negotiated a canal treaty with that new country, the terms of which were even more favorable to the United States than those previously negotiated with Colombia. Years later, in his autobiography, Roosevelt boasted, "I took the Isthmus, started the canal and then left Congress not to debate the canal, but to debate me." Certainly, his methods were somewhat high-handed, but the construction of the canal was a great achievement, and without Roosevelt's actions it might have been long delayed.

The canal (though not completed during TR's presidency) solved the country's major strategic problem by permitting the quick passage of the

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American navy from one major ocean to the other. It also occasioned new concerns. The European powers had just completed their division of Africa and were casting longing eyes at Latin America; blocking their encroachment into the Caribbean (into the area that controlled the approaches to the projected vital canal) became a matter of high national priority. The most likely threat was posed by European powers moving into the area in an effort to collect debts owed to European creditors by impecunious countries or their dictators.

The problem was that the United States was having difficulty invoking the Monroe Doctrine against European intervention in the absence of any willingness to assume responsibility itself. The idea that power and responsibility went hand in hand was in fact the principal rationale for the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine; as Roosevelt told his friend George Otto Trevelyan, "We cannot perpetually assert the Monroe Doctrine on behalf of all American republics, bad or good, without ourselves accepting some responsibility in connection therewith." In taking such an approach (now criticized as paternalistic), Roosevelt was doing little more than meeting the demands of the Europeans, perhaps best expressed in Lord Salisbury's reply to President Cleveland's rather peremptory note during the Venezuelan crisis of 1895. Salisbury's point was that "the Government of the United States is not entitled to affirm as a universal proposition, with reference to a number of independent states for whose conduct it assumes no responsibility, that its interests are necessarily concerned in whatever may befall those states simply because they are situated in the Western Hemisphere."

Chastened by German bombardment of the Venezuelan coast in 1902 (an incident that was contained by the dispatch of an American squadron under Admiral Dewey and a private warning to the kaiser), Roosevelt decided that the only way to prevent such dangerous incidents in the future was for the United States to step in first, so that there would be no pretext for European intervention. In the interest of national security and peace in the region, he told Congress that the United States had to see to it that order prevailed and that just obligations were met. When internal disorders threatened payments on the Dominican Republic's foreign debt, Roosevelt, acting on his authority as commander in chief, took over the Santo Domingo customhouse and soon established that country on a sound financial footing.

Historians have usually assumed that Roosevelt coveted additional territory in Latin America and was widely resented there for assuming the role of hemispheric policeman. In fact, he did not desire the annexation of either Cuba or Santa Domingo (in his ever-colorful language this was expressed as having "about the same desire to annex" another island "as a gorged boa constrictor might have to swallow a porcupine wrong-end-to"). Moreover,

American prestige was exceptionally high under Theodore Roosevelt. He was held in great esteem for his role in the war for the liberation of Cuba and even more highly regarded for his honoring of the American pledge to withdraw from Cuba in 1903 and for the limitations that he imposed on subsequent interventions. Roosevelt usually resisted the temptation to preach to the Latins, and in turn many of them saw him, not as a Yankee imperialist, but as their protector against European ambitions.

Roosevelt's Diplomacy in Retrospect

Roosevelt was actually one of the United States's premier diplomat presidents, often serving as his own secretary of state while nevertheless making distinguished appointments (John Hay and Elihu Root) to that office. He was the first president in a long time who could be called a cosmopolitan man: He had traveled extensively in Europe as a child and had a wide circle of European friends and correspondents, and a few non-European ones as well. Despite his reputation for brashness and vigorous speech, he was extremely sensitive to the feelings of other countries and to those of their diplomats, several of whom (for example, Jules Jusserand of France, Speck von Sternberg of Germany, and Cecil Spring Rice of Britain) were among his innermost circle of friends. Historians, in their emphasis on the "big-stick" aspect of Rooseveltian diplomacy (and in their reference to Roosevelt's thinking that demonstrations of military force and diplomacy went hand in glove), have frequently neglected the other aspect of Roosevelt's aphorism: He always talked of speaking softly, while carrying a big stick, and his most insistent complaint about his fellow countrymen was that they tended to want to "combine the unready hand with the unbridled tongue." Although pursuing a substantial naval building program, he was invariably punctilious in his treatment of the Japanese. Many of his countrymen (including too many of their representatives in Congress), in contrast, sought every occasion to insult the Japanese yet were nevertheless eager to cut naval appropriations.

Not since the early years of the Republic had an American president held such a firm grasp on the geopolitical realities of world politics. Unlike most Americans, TR recognized the oneness of the early twentieth-century world. He once told the U.S. Congress that "the increasing interdependence and complexity of international political and economic relations render it incumbent on all civilized and orderly powers to insist on the proper policing of the world." The United States could no longer shut itself off from the rest of the world. Its security depended on maintaining the balance of power both in Europe and Asia (and Roosevelt was acutely aware of how closely interrelated the two were). Moreover, Roosevelt believed that as a great power the United States had commensurate international responsibilities and obligations; it was in the interest of the United States to work ac-

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tively for world peace. This he did most effectively; his work at the Portsmouth Conference, mediating between Russia and Japan to end their recent war, earned for him the Nobel Peace Prize, and he also played a major role behind the scenes in the Algeciras Conference, which smoothed over a potentially volatile Franco-German conflict over Morocco. As Frederick Marks had written, "For the first time, America was taken into account by world leaders, not only in questions affecting the Western Hemisphere, but in all major diplomatic decisions." Even those who like to speak of Roosevelt's "imperial internationalism" have had to admit that his role in world politics was eminently constructive. He took risks and often incurred domestic political disadvantage, but his achievement becomes clear when set against his successors' inactivity during the second Moroccan crisis in 1911

(Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)

The Busy Showman

and during the fateful summer of 1914.

Howard Beale contends that Roosevelt had a particularly noteworthy concern with power relationships: "He was intrigued with power, with problems of power, and with rivalries for power." Indeed, Roosevelt himself once confessed that he believed in power, though it is important to note that the full quotation states, "I believe in power, but I believe that responsibility should go with power." Often in American history such thoughts have been sufficient to condemn a man, and just as often they have been used to obscure the truth. Roosevelt understood that idealism was not a self-fulfilling proposition and that what he had done could have been accomplished only from a position of strength. In fact, he was extremely proud of the things he had done to make the United States into a major military power, and he was inclined to put his doubling of the size of the U.S. Navy at the very top of his list of accomplishments. He wanted to increase the power of the United States in the international arena for many of the same reasons that he sought to increase the power of the federal government and of the presidency in the domestic arena. Only such power, he thought, could establish order both at home and abroad. It was important that this great new power be accumulated in the right hands, but whether in his hands or in those of the United States, Roosevelt did not doubt that either he or the United States was playing a progressive and righteous role.

Thanks to the innovative work, bridging psychology and history, of Kathleen Dalton, who has studied the countless letters that Roosevelt received from the proverbial man and woman in the street, we are coming to understand precisely what it was about Theodore Roosevelt that endeared him to so many Americans and gave him while still living a cult following new in the annals of American history. Dalton argues that Roosevelt understood that the symbolism of harmonious social unity and equality drew the public to him and that he consciously intended to portray himself in his 1899 book *The Rough Riders* "as a leader who could unite an odd assortment of American types—cowboys, polo-players, derelicts, football stars, Indians, and Wall Street lawyers." The question remains whether TR used his talents simply to secure power for himself or in an effort to reunite a very fragmented society and imbue it with a new sense of purpose. One suspects that in his own mind at least the distinctions between the two were blurred, but it also cannot be denied that by the time he stepped down in 1909, he had established the basic conditions under which the American state would eventually assume its modern responsibilities.

At fifty, he was still a young man when he retired from the presidency. His initial intentions were the best; he went off on a long African safari in order to permit his successor, William Howard Taft, to put his own stamp on the presidency. He found it very difficult, however, to stay out of the political limelight. Upset by some of Taft's policies, particularly in foreign

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affairs, antitrust enforcement, and conservation, Roosevelt, in 1912, challenged his renomination. When Taft defeated TR at the Republican convention, Roosevelt bolted the party and sought to rally his followers in a third-party bid for the presidency. In a race against Taft, the Democrat Woodrow Wilson, and Socialist Eugene V. Debs, Roosevelt campaigned on a platform that accepted the existence of big business but called for federal regulation to prevent abuse of its power and that endorsed federal social welfare legislation such as workman's compensation and child labor laws. Roosevelt finished a strong second to Wilson, who won partly because of the split within Republican ranks. World War I broke out in Europe two years after the election, and Roosevelt became an ardent supporter of preparedness and a vocal critic of Wilson's policy of neutrality. When Wilson finally took the nation into war in 1917, Roosevelt sought but failed to receive Wilson's approval to raise a division and lead it into combat. Roosevelt remained critical of the Wilson Administration but he nevertheless became a vitriolic supporter of the war effort. By 1918, he had begun to lay plans for another try at the Republican nomination for president, but he died on January 6, 1919. In his treatment of Taft and harsh attitudes toward those who were not as enthusiastic as he was about aligning the United States with Great Britain during World War I, Roosevelt had often succumbed to his less generous impulses. Nevertheless, it is likely that had he lived, he could not have been denied the Republican presidential nomination in 1920. Had that happened, Republicanism in the 1920's would have had an entirely different tenor, and American history probably would have taken a markedly different course.

William C. Widenor

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THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY FRANK FREIDEL

Bullitt Professor of American History
University of Washington

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

Theodore Roosevelt

TWENTY-SIXTH PRESIDENT 1901-1909

WITH THE ASSASSINATION of President McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, not quite 43, became the youngest President in the Nation's history. He brought new excitement and power to the Presidency, as he vigorously led Congress and the American public toward progressive reforms and a strong foreign policy.

He took the view that the President as a "steward of the people" should take whatever action necessary for the public good unless expressly forbidden by law or the Constitution. "I did not usurp power," he wrote, "but I did greatly broaden the use of executive power."

Roosevelt's youth differed sharply from that of the log cabin Presidents. He was born in New York City in 1858 into a wealthy family, but he too struggled—against ill health—and in his triumph became an advocate of the strenuous life.

In 1884 his first wife, Alice Lee Roosevelt, and his mother died on the same day. Roosevelt spent much of the next two years on his ranch in the Badlands of Dakota Territory. There he mastered his sorrow as he lived in the saddle, driving cattle, hunting big game—he even captured an outlaw. On a visit to London, he married Edith Carow in December 1886.

During the Spanish-American War, Roosevelt was lieutenant colonel of the Rough Rider Regiment, which he led on a charge at the battle of San Juan. He was one of the most conspicuous heroes of the war.

Boss Tom Platt, needing a hero to draw attention away from scandals in New York State, accepted Roosevelt as the Republican candidate for Governor in 1898. Roosevelt won and served with distinction.

As President, Roosevelt held the ideal that the Government should be the great arbiter of the conflicting economic forces in the Nation, especially between capital and labor, guaranteeing justice to each and dispensing favors to none.

Roosevelt emerged spectacularly as a "trust buster" by forcing the dissolution of a great railroad combination in the Northwest. Other antitrust suits under the Sherman Act followed.

Roosevelt steered the United States more actively into world politics. He liked to quote a favorite proverb, "Speak softly and carry a big stick. . . ."

Aware of the strategic need for a short cut between the Atlantic and Pacific, Roosevelt ensured the construction of the Panama Canal. His corollary to the Monroe Doctrine prevented the establishment of foreign bases in the Caribbean and arrogated the sole right of intervention in Latin America to the United States.

He won the Nobel Peace Prize for mediating the Russo-Japanese War, reached a Gentleman's Agreement on immigration with Japan, and sent the Great White Fleet on a goodwill tour of the world.

Some of Roosevelt's most effective achievements were in conservation. He added enormously to the national forests in the West, reserved lands for public use, and fostered great irrigation projects.

He crusaded endlessly on matters big and small, exciting audiences with his high-pitched voice, jutting jaw, and pounding fist. "The life of strenuous endeavor" was a must for those around him, as he romped with his five younger children and led ambassadors on hikes through Rock Creek Park in Washington, D. C.

Leaving the Presidency in 1909, Roosevelt went on an African safari, then jumped back into politics. In 1912 he ran for President on a Progressive ticket. To reporters he once remarked that he felt as fit as a bull moose, the name of his new party.

While campaigning in Milwaukee, he was shot in the chest by a fanatic. Roosevelt soon recovered, but his words at that time would have been applicable at the time of his death in 1919: "No man has had a happier life than I have led; a happier life in every way."

Theodore Roosevelt, nature lover and conservationist, championed the strenuous life.

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A COMPILATION OF BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL INFORMATION

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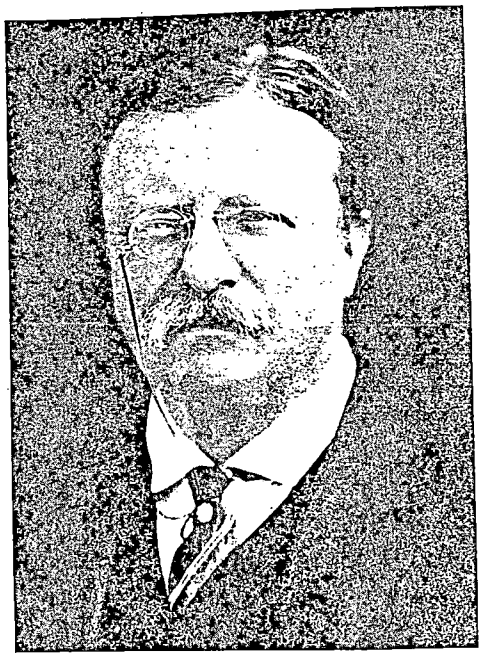
26th PRESIDENT



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Theodore Roosevelt

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

BORN Oct. 27, 1858
BIRTHPLACE New York, N.Y.
COLLEGE ATTENDED Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.
DATE OF GRADUATION June 30, 1880, four-year course, Bachelor of Arts
RELIGION Dutch Reformed Church
ANCESTRY Dutch
OCCUPATION Rancher, writer, public official
DATE AND PLACE OF FIRST MARRIAGE Oct. 27, 1880, Brookline, Mass.
AGE AT MARRIAGE 22 years
YEARS MARRIED 3 years, 110 days
DATE AND PLACE OF SECOND MARRIAGE Dec. 2, 1886, London, England
AGE AT SECOND MARRIAGE 28 years, 36 days
YEARS MARRIED 32 years, 35 days

POLITICAL PARTY Republican
STATE REPRESENTED New York
TERM OF OFFICE Sept. 14, 1901–Mar. 3, 1909 (Roosevelt succeeded to the presidency on the death of William McKinley.)
TERM SERVED 7 years, 171 days
ADMINISTRATION 29th, 30th
CONGRESSES 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th
AGE AT INAUGURATION 42 years, 322 days
LIVED AFTER TERM 9 years, 309 days
OCCUPATION AFTER TERM Writer, big-game hunter, political leader
DATE OF DEATH Jan. 6, 1919
AGE AT DEATH 60 years, 71 days
PLACE OF DEATH Oyster Bay, N.Y.
BURIAL PLACE Young's Memorial Cemetery, Oyster Bay, N.Y.

PARENTS

FATHER Theodore Roosevelt
BORN Sept. 22, 1831, New York, N.Y.
MARRIED Dec. 22, 1853, Roswell, Ga.
OCCUPATION Glass importer, merchant

For additional data see the end of this section and also specific subject headings in the index

DIED Feb. 9, 1878, New York, N.Y
AGE AT DEATH 46 years, 140 days
MOTHER Martha Bulloch Roosevelt

BROTHERS AND SIS

Theodore Roosevelt was the sec
dren.

Children of Theodore Roosevelt and Roosevelt

Anna Roosevelt, b. Jan. 7, 1855, d.
Theodore Roosevelt, b. Oct. 27, 185
Elliott Roosevelt, b. Feb. 28, 1860, d
Corinne Roosevelt, b. Sept. 17, 1861

CHILDREN

By first wife, Alice Lee Roosevelt

Alice Lee Roosevelt, b. Feb. 12, 1
N.Y.; m. Feb. 17, 1906, Nicholas I
White House, Washington, D.C.;
Washington, D.C.

By second wife, Edith Kermit Carow

Theodore Roosevelt, b. Sept. 13, 18
N.Y.; m. June 20, 1910, Eleanor E
New York, N.Y.; d. July 12, 19
France
Kermit Roosevelt, b. Oct. 10, 1889, C
m. June 11, 1914, Belle Wyatt
Spain; d. June 4, 1943, on active
Alaska
Ethel Carow Roosevelt, b. Aug. 13, 1
N.Y.; m. Apr. 4, 1913, Dr. Richar
Bay, N.Y.; d. Dec. 10, 1977, Oyste
Archibald Bulloch Roosevelt, b. Apr. 9,
ton, D.C.; m. Apr. 14, 1917, Grace
wood, Boston, Mass.; d. Oct. 13, 19

THE ELECTION OF 1904

NOMINATIONS FOR TERM 1905

Republican Party Convention (13th)

June 21–23, 1904, the Coliseum, Chic
Nominated for President—Theodore
Nominated for Vice President—Charl
banks, Ind.
First ballot: Theodore Roosevelt, N.Y
Nomination made unanimous

Democratic Party Convention (19th)

July 6–9, 1904, the Coliseum, St. Loui
Nominated for President—Alton Broo
Nominated for Vice President—Henry
ns, W. Va.
Parker was nominated on the first
votes for nomination and the votes th
Alton Brooks Parker, N.Y., 679
William Randolph Hearst, N.Y., 181
Francis Marion Cockrell, Mo., 42
Richard Olney, Mass., 38
Edward C. Wall, Wis., 27

DIED Feb. 9, 1878, New York, N.Y.
AGE AT DEATH 46 years, 140 days
MOTHER Martha Bulloch Roosevelt

BORN July 8, 1834, Hartford, Conn.
DIED Feb. 14, 1884, New York, N.Y.
AGE AT DEATH 49 years, 221 days

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

Theodore Roosevelt was the second of four children.

Children of Theodore Roosevelt and Martha Bulloch Roosevelt

Anna Roosevelt, b. Jan. 7, 1855, d. Aug. 25, 1931
Theodore Roosevelt, b. Oct. 27, 1858, d. Jan. 6, 1919
Elliott Roosevelt, b. Feb. 28, 1860, d. Aug. 14, 1894
Corinne Roosevelt, b. Sept. 17, 1861, d. Feb. 17, 1933

CHILDREN

By first wife, Alice Lee Roosevelt

Alice Lee Roosevelt, b. Feb. 12, 1884, New York, N.Y.; m. Feb. 17, 1906, Nicholas Longworth, at the White House, Washington, D.C.; d. Feb. 20, 1980, Washington, D.C.

By second wife, Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt, b. Sept. 13, 1887, Oyster Bay, N.Y.; m. June 20, 1910, Eleanor Butler Alexander, New York, N.Y.; d. July 12, 1944, Normandy, France
Kermit Roosevelt, b. Oct. 10, 1889, Oyster Bay, N.Y.; m. June 11, 1914, Belle Wyatt Willard, Madrid, Spain; d. June 4, 1943, on active military duty in Alaska
Ethel Carow Roosevelt, b. Aug. 13, 1891, Oyster Bay, N.Y.; m. Apr. 4, 1913, Dr. Richard Derby, Oyster Bay, N.Y.; d. Dec. 10, 1977, Oyster Bay, N.Y.
Archibald Bulloch Roosevelt, b. Apr. 9, 1894, Washington, D.C.; m. Apr. 14, 1917, Grace Stackpole Lockwood, Boston, Mass.; d. Oct. 13, 1979, Hobe Sound, Fla.
Quentin Roosevelt, b. Nov. 19, 1897, Washington, D.C.; d. July 14, 1918, shot down in aerial combat in France

MRS. THEODORE ROOSEVELT (first wife)

NAME Alice Hathaway Lee Roosevelt
DATE OF BIRTH July 29, 1861
BIRTHPLACE Chestnut Hill, Mass.
AGE AT MARRIAGE 19 years, 82 days
CHILDREN 1 daughter
MOTHER Caroline Haskell Lee
FATHER George Cabot Lee
DATE OF DEATH Feb. 14, 1884
AGE AT DEATH 22 years, 192 days
PLACE OF DEATH New York, N.Y.
BURIAL PLACE Cambridge, Mass.
YEARS YOUNGER THAN THE PRESIDENT 2 years, 283 days
YEARS THE PRESIDENT SURVIVED HER 34 years, 326 days

MRS. THEODORE ROOSEVELT (second wife)

NAME Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt
DATE OF BIRTH Aug. 6, 1861
BIRTHPLACE Norwich, Conn.
AGE AT MARRIAGE 25 years, 118 days
CHILDREN 4 sons, 1 daughter
MOTHER Gertrude Elizabeth Tyler Carow
FATHER Charles Carow
DATE OF DEATH Sept. 30, 1948
AGE AT DEATH 87 years, 45 days
PLACE OF DEATH Oyster Bay, N.Y.
BURIAL PLACE Oyster Bay, N.Y.
YEARS YOUNGER THAN THE PRESIDENT 2 years, 293 days
YEARS SHE SURVIVED THE PRESIDENT 29 years, 267 days

THE ELECTION OF 1904

NOMINATIONS FOR TERM 1905–1909

Republican Party Convention (13th)

June 21–23, 1904, the Coliseum, Chicago, Ill.
Nominated for President—Theodore Roosevelt, N.Y.
Nominated for Vice President—Charles Warren Fairbanks, Ind.
First ballot: Theodore Roosevelt, N.Y., 994
Nomination made unanimous

Democratic Party Convention (19th)

July 6–9, 1904, the Coliseum, St. Louis, Mo.
Nominated for President—Alton Brooks Parker, N.Y.
Nominated for Vice President—Henry Gassaway Davis, W. Va.
Parker was nominated on the first ballot. Candidates for nomination and the votes they received:
Alton Brooks Parker, N.Y., 679
William Randolph Hearst, N.Y., 181
Francis Marion Cockrell, Mo., 42
Richard Olney, Mass., 38
Edward C. Wall, Wis., 27
George Gray, Del., 12
John Sharp Williams, Miss., 8
Robert Emory Pattison, Pa., 4
Nelson Appleton Miles, Mass., 3
George Brinton McClellan, N.J., 3
Charles Arnette Towne, Minn., 2
Bird Sim Coler, N.Y., 1

Total number of votes: 1,000
Number necessary for nomination: 667
Nomination made unanimous

Socialist Party Convention

May 1–6, 1904, Brand's Hall, Chicago, Ill.
Nominated for President—Eugene Victor Debs, Ind.
Nominated for Vice President—Benjamin Hanford, N.Y.

Debs was nominated by acclamation on the first ballot.

This was the first nominating convention of the Socialist Party, which was formed March 25, 1900, at Indianapolis, Ind., by a group of secessionists from the Socialist Labor Party.

Prohibition Party Convention (9th)

June 30, 1904, Indianapolis, Ind.

THE ELECTION OF 1904—NOMINATIONS FOR TERM 1905–1909—*Continued*

Nominated for President—Silas Comfort Swallow, Pa.
Nominated for Vice President—George W. Carroll, Tex.

People's Party (Populists)

July 4, 1904, Springfield, Ill.
Nominated for President—Thomas Edward Watson, Ga.
Nominated for Vice President—Thomas Henry Tibbles, Neb.

Socialist Labor Party Convention

July 2–8, 1904, New York, N.Y.
Nominated for President—Charles Hunter Corregan, N.Y.
Nominated for Vice President—William Wesley Cox, Ill.

Continental Party

Aug. 31, 1904, Chicago, Ill.
Nominated for President—Austin Holcomb, Ga.
Nominated for Vice President—A. King, Mo.

United Christian Party Convention

May 2, 1904, St. Louis, Mo.
A platform was adopted, but no nominations were made for President or Vice President.

ELECTION RESULTS, NOV. 8, 1904—PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Republican Party (7,623,486 votes)

Theodore Roosevelt, N.Y.
Charles Warren Fairbanks, Ind.

Democratic Party (5,077,911 votes)

Alton Brooks Parker, N.Y.
Henry Gassaway Davis, W.Va.

Socialist Party (402,283 votes)

Eugene Victor Debs, Ind.
Benjamin Hanford, N.Y.

Prohibition Party (258,536 votes)

Silas Comfort Swallow, Pa.
George W. Carroll, Tex.

People's Party (117,183 votes)

Thomas Edward Watson, Ga.
Thomas Henry Tibbles, Neb.

Socialist Labor Party (31,249 votes)

Charles Hunter Corregan, N.Y.
William Wesley Cox, Ill.

Continental Party (1,000 votes)

Austin Holcomb, Ga.
A. King, Mo.

ELECTORAL VOTES (476—45 states)

Roosevelt received 70.60 percent (336 votes—32 states) as follows: Calif. 10; Colo. 5; Conn. 7; Del. 3; Idaho 3; Ill. 27; Ind. 15; Iowa 13; Kan. 10; Me. 6; Md. 1 (of the 8 votes); Mass. 16; Mich. 14; Minn. 11; Mo. 18; Mont. 3; Neb. 8; Nev. 3; N.H. 4; N.J. 12; N.Y. 39; N.D. 4; Ohio 23; Ore. 4; Pa. 34; R.I. 4; S.D. 4; Utah 3; Vt. 4; Wash. 5; W.Va. 7; Wis. 13; Wyo. 13.

Parker received 29.40 percent (140 votes—13 states) as follows: Ala. 11; Ark. 9; Fla. 5; Ga. 13; Ky. 13; La. 9; Md. 7 (of the 8 votes); Miss. 10; N.C. 12; S.C. 9; Tenn. 12; Tex. 18; Va. 12.

FIRST TERM

CABINET

September 14, 1901–March 3, 1905

STATE John Hay, D.C., continued from preceding administration

TREASURY Lyman Judson Gage, Ill., continued from preceding administration; Leslie Mortier Shaw, Iowa, Jan. 9, 1902; entered upon duties Feb. 1, 1902

WAR Elihu Root, N.Y., continued from preceding administration; William Howard Taft, Ohio, Jan. 11, 1904, to take effect Feb. 1, 1904

ATTORNEY GENERAL Philander Chase Knox, Pa., continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Dec. 16, 1901; William Henry Moody, Mass., July 1, 1904

POSTMASTER GENERAL Charles Emory Smith, Pa., continued from preceding administration; Henry Clay Payne, Wis., Jan. 9, 1902; Robert John Wynne, Pa., Oct. 10, 1904

NAVY John Davis Long, Mass., continued from preceding administration; William Henry Moody, Mass., Apr. 29, 1902; entered upon duties May 1, 1902; Paul Morton, Ill., July 1, 1904

INTERIOR Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Mo., continued from preceding administration

AGRICULTURE James Wilson, Iowa, continued from preceding administration

COMMERCE AND LABOR George Bruce Cortelyou, N.Y., Feb. 16, 1903; Victor Howard Metcalf, Calif., July 1, 1904

SECOND TERM

CABINET

March 4, 1905–March 3, 1909

STATE John Hay, D.C., continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Mar. 6, 1905; died July 1, 1905; Francis Butler Loomis, Ohio (assistant secretary), ad interim July 1–18, 1905; Elihu Root, N.Y., July 7, 1905; entered upon duties July 19, 1905; Robert Bacon, N.Y., Jan. 27, 1909

TREASURY Leslie Mortier Shaw, Iowa, continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Mar. 6, 1905; George Bruce Cortelyou, N.Y., Jan. 15, 1907, to take effect Mar. 4, 1907

WAR William Howard Taft, Ohio, continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Mar. 6, 1905; Luke Edward Wright, Tenn., June 29, 1908, entered upon duties July 1, 1908

ATTORNEY GENERAL William Henry Moody, Mass., continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Mar. 6, 1905; Charles Joseph Bonaparte, Md., Dec. 12, 1906; entered upon duties Dec. 17, 1906

POSTMASTER GENERAL Robert John Wynne, continued from preceding administration; Cortelyou, N.Y., Mar. 6, 1905; George Lengerke Meyer, Mass., Jan. 15, 1907; Mar. 4, 1907

NAVY Paul Morton, Ill., continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Mar. 6, 1905; Charles Joseph Bonaparte, Md., July 1, 1905; Howard Metcalf, Calif., Dec. 12, 1906; entered upon duties Dec. 17, 1906; Truman Handley Newberry, Mich., Dec. 1, 1908

INTERIOR Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Mo., continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Mar. 6, 1905; James Rudolph Garfield, Iowa, Jan. 15, 1907, to take effect Mar. 4, 1907

AGRICULTURE James Wilson, Iowa, continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Mar. 6, 1905

COMMERCE AND LABOR Victor Howard Metcalf, Calif., continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Mar. 6, 1905; Oscar Solomon Straus, N.Y., Dec. 12, 1906; entered upon duties Mar. 4, 1906

FIRST TERM

FIFTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

March 4, 1903–March 3, 1905

FIRST SESSION Nov. 9, 1903–Dec. 7, 1903

SECOND SESSION Dec. 7, 1903–May 7, 1904

THIRD SESSION Dec. 5, 1904–Mar. 3, 1905

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE Mar. 5, 1903 (14 days)

VICE PRESIDENT Vice President Theodore succeeded to the presidency on the death of McKinley on Sept. 14, 1901

PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE William Frye, Me.

SECRETARY OF THE SENATE Charles Goodrich, N.Y.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE Joseph Gurney Cannon, elected Nov. 9, 1903

CLERK OF THE HOUSE Alexander McDowell, elected Nov. 9, 1903

SECOND TERM

FIFTY-NINTH CONGRESS

March 4, 1905–March 3, 1907

FIRST SESSION Dec. 4, 1905–June 30, 1906

SECOND SESSION Dec. 3, 1906–Mar. 3, 1907

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE Mar. 4, 1905 (14 days)

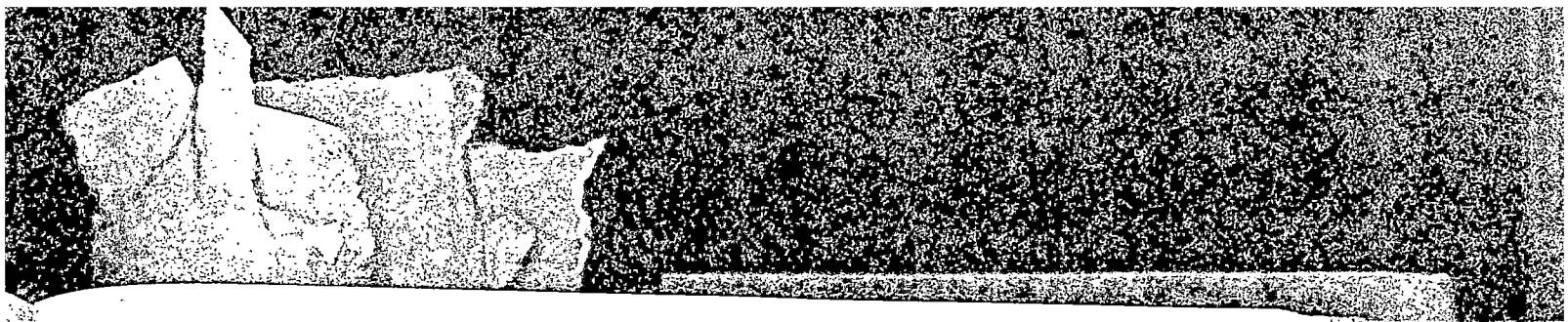
VICE PRESIDENT Charles Warren Fairbanks

PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE William Frye, Me.

SECRETARY OF THE SENATE Charles Goodrich, N.Y.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE Joseph Gurney Cannon, elected Dec. 4, 1905

CLERK OF THE HOUSE Alexander McDowell, elected Dec. 4, 1905



POSTMASTER GENERAL Robert John Wynne, Pa., continued from preceding administration; George Bruce Cortelyou, N.Y., Mar. 6, 1905; George von Lengerke Meyer, Mass., Jan. 15, 1907, to take effect Mar. 4, 1907

NAVY Paul Morton, Ill., continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Mar. 6, 1905; Charles Joseph Bonaparte, Md., July 1, 1905; Victor Howard Metcalf, Calif., Dec. 12, 1906; entered upon duties Dec. 17, 1906; Truman Handy Newberry, Mich., Dec. 1, 1908

INTERIOR Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Mo., continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Mar. 6, 1905; James Rudolph Garfield, Ohio, Jan. 15, 1907, to take effect Mar. 4, 1907

AGRICULTURE James Wilson, Iowa, continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Mar. 6, 1905

COMMERCE AND LABOR Victor Howard Metcalf, Calif., continued from preceding administration; recommissioned Mar. 6, 1905; Oscar Solomon Straus, N.Y., Dec. 12, 1906; entered upon duties Dec. 17, 1906

FIRST TERM

FIFTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

March 4, 1903–March 3, 1905

FIRST SESSION Nov. 9, 1903–Dec. 7, 1903 (29 days)
SECOND SESSION Dec. 7, 1903–May 7, 1904 (144 days)
THIRD SESSION Dec. 5, 1904–Mar. 3, 1905 (89 days)
SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE Mar. 5, 1903–Mar. 19, 1903 (14 days)
VICE PRESIDENT Vice President Theodore Roosevelt succeeded to the presidency on the death of William McKinley on Sept. 14, 1901
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE William Pierce Frye, Me.
SECRETARY OF THE SENATE Charles Goodwin Bennett, N.Y.
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE Joseph Gurney Cannon, Ill., elected Nov. 9, 1903
CLERK OF THE HOUSE Alexander McDowell, Pa., reelected Nov. 9, 1903

SECOND TERM

FIFTY-NINTH CONGRESS

March 4, 1905–March 3, 1907

FIRST SESSION Dec. 4, 1905–June 30, 1906 (209 days)
SECOND SESSION Dec. 3, 1906–Mar. 3, 1907 (91 days)
SPECIAL SESSION OF THE SENATE Mar. 4, 1905–Mar. 18, 1905 (14 days)
VICE PRESIDENT Charles Warren Fairbanks, Ind.
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE William Pierce Frye, Me.
SECRETARY OF THE SENATE Charles Goodwin Bennett, N.Y.
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE Joseph Gurney Cannon, Ill., reelected Dec. 4, 1905
CLERK OF THE HOUSE Alexander McDowell, Pa., reelect-

SIXTIETH CONGRESS

March 4, 1907–March 3, 1909

FIRST SESSION Dec. 2, 1907–May 30, 1908 (181 days)
SECOND SESSION Dec. 7, 1908–Mar. 3, 1909 (87 days)
VICE PRESIDENT Charles Warren Fairbanks, Ind.
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE William Frye, Me., reelected Dec. 5, 1907
SECRETARY OF THE SENATE Charles Goodwin Bennett, N.Y.
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE Joseph Gurney Cannon, Ill., reelected Dec. 2, 1907
CLERK OF THE HOUSE Alexander McDowell, Pa., reelected Dec. 2, 1907

APPOINTMENTS TO THE SUPREME COURT

Associate Justices

Oliver Wendell Holmes, Mass., Dec. 4, 1902
William Rufus Day, Ohio, Feb. 23, 1903
William Henry Moody, Mass., Dec. 12, 1906

ADMINISTRATION—IMPORTANT DATES

Sept. 18, 1901, commission form of government adopted, Galveston, Tex.
Dec. 11, 1901, first wireless signal received from Europe
May 12, 1902, Pennsylvania coal strike begun
May 20, 1902, Cuban republic inaugurated
June 17, 1902, Newlands conservation act passed
Dec. 14, 1902, laying of Pacific cable began at San Francisco, Calif.
Dec. 19, 1902, U.S. intervention in Venezuelan dispute with European nations
Feb. 14, 1903, Department of Commerce and Labor created
Mar. 19, 1903, reciprocity treaty with Cuba ratified
Oct. 17, 1903, Alaska boundary award made
Nov. 3, 1903, Encouraged by the President, Panamanian rebels declared their independence from Colombia
Nov. 6, 1903, Republic of Panama recognized
Nov. 18, 1903, Isthmian Canal Convention; Panama ceded Canal Zone strip ten miles wide through lease and sale to United States
Dec. 17, 1903, Wright brothers' airplane flight, Kitty Hawk, N.C.
Feb. 26, 1904, Panama Canal Zone formally acquired by the United States
March 14, 1904, Supreme Court upheld Sherman Antitrust Act, dissolving Northern Securities Company (railroad trust organized by J. P. Morgan)
Apr. 30, 1904, President Roosevelt opened Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, Mo.
Dec. 6, 1904, President Roosevelt issued corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, defending American intervention in Latin America to stop European aggression
Sept. 5, 1905, Russo-Japanese peace treaty signed, Portsmouth, N.H.
Mar. 1906, Congress passed Hepburn Act, which awarded greater powers to the Interstate Commerce Commission
Apr. 18–20, 1906, San Francisco earthquake

ADMINISTRATION—IMPORTANT DATES—*Continued*

Oct. 18, 1907, Fourth Hague Convention signed by 32 nations
Nov. 16, 1907, Oklahoma admitted as the 46th state
Dec. 16, 1907, Great White Fleet, an array of American battleships, left on around-the-world cruise; fleet commander was Rear Admiral Robley D. "Fighting Bob" Evans until he fell ill and was succeeded by Rear Admiral Charles S. Sperry
1907–1908, "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan—Japanese declared they would issue no passports to laborers wishing to emigrate to the United States
Feb. 9, 1909, first narcotic prohibition act passed
Feb. 22, 1909, Great White Fleet completed voyage

IMPORTANT DATES IN HIS LIFE

18—, attended public schools
1880, graduated from Harvard
1880–1881, studied law
1882–1884, New York State Assembly
1884–1886, at his North Dakota ranch
1886, returned to New York City; unsuccessful candidate for mayor
May 13, 1889–1895, U.S. Civil Service Commission (appointed by President Harrison)
May 6, 1895, president of New York City Board of Police Commissioners
Apr. 19, 1897, appointed assistant secretary of the Navy
1898, resigned Navy post; organized first regiment U.S. volunteer cavalry, known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders"
May 6, 1898, lieutenant colonel
July 11, 1898, colonel
Sept. 15, 1898, mustered out of service
1899–1901, governor of New York
1900, nominated as vice presidential candidate on Republican ticket
Mar. 4, 1901, inaugurated Vice President
Sept. 14, 1901, succeeded to the presidency on the death of President McKinley; took oath of office at Buffalo, N.Y.
1904, nominated for another term as President on the Republican ticket
Mar. 4, 1905–Mar. 3, 1909, President (second term)
1906, awarded Nobel Prize for services in connection with Russo-Japanese peace treaty
June 1908, received three complimentary votes at Republican nominating convention
1909, on African hunting and scientific expedition outfitted by the Smithsonian Institution
1910, special ambassador from the United States at the funeral of King Edward VII of England
June 1912, unsuccessful candidate for Republican nomination for the presidency
Aug. 1912, organized Progressive ("Bull Moose") Party; nominated for presidency
Oct. 1913–May 1914, explored River of Doubt in South America
1916, declined nomination by the Progressive Party as presidential candidate
1916–1919, engaged in literary pursuits

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

——was the third President born in New York.
——was the fourth President to remarry.
——was the first President to win a Nobel peace prize.
——was the youngest President at the time he took office.

ROOSEVELT'S VICE PRESIDENT

VICE PRESIDENT Charles Warren Fairbanks (26th V.P.)
DATE OF BIRTH May 11, 1852
BIRTHPLACE Unionville Center, Ohio
POLITICAL PARTY Republican
STATE REPRESENTED Indiana
TERM OF OFFICE Mar. 4, 1905–Mar. 3, 1909
AGE AT INAUGURATION 52 years, 297 days
OCCUPATION AFTER TERM Lawyer
DATE OF DEATH June 4, 1918
AGE AT DEATH 66 years, 24 days
PLACE OF DEATH Indianapolis, Ind.
BURIAL PLACE Indianapolis, Ind.

Additional data on Fairbanks

1872, graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio
1874, admitted to the bar in Ohio; practiced in Indianapolis, Ind.
1892, unsuccessful candidate for election to U.S. Senate (from Indiana)
Mar. 4, 1897–Mar. 3, 1905, U.S. Senate (from Indiana)
1916, unsuccessful candidate for vice presidency on Republican ticket headed by Charles Evans Hughes
1916, resumed law practice, Indianapolis, Ind.

ADDITIONAL DATA ON ROOSEVELT

DOUBLE TRAGEDY IN THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY

Thursday, February 14, 1884, was a day of tragedy for Assemblyman Theodore Roosevelt. On that day, at Roosevelt's home in New York City, his mother died of typhoid fever and his wife, Alice, died of Bright's disease.

On February 16, 1884, two hearses were driven from his mother's residence in New York City to the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, where services were conducted by Rev. John Hall, prior to interment in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y.

FIRST OATH OF OFFICE

After the death of President McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office on Saturday, September 14, 1901, at 3:32 P.M., at the residence of Ansley Wilcox at Buffalo, N.Y. The oath was administered by Judge John R. Hazel of the United States District Court.

THE YOUNGEST PRESIDENT

Theodore Roosevelt was the youngest man to take the oath of office as Chief Executive. He was a little over forty-two years and ten months old when sworn in.

ROOSEVELT RODE IN AUTOMOBILE AND AIRPLANE

The first President to ride in an automobile was Theodore Roosevelt, who was a passenger in a purple-lined Columbia Electric Victoria on a trip through

Hartford, Conn., on August 22, 19
followed the presidential automo
the city.

After his term of office, Roose
when he took a ride in an airplane
at St. Louis, Mo. He was a passen
loted by Archie Hoxsey. Roosevel
Presidents to fly in an airplane.

ROOSEVELT APPOINTED CO LABOR SECRETARY

On February 16, 1903, Theoc
pointed George B. Cortelyou Secr
and Labor, the first man to hold t

INAUGURATION IN 1905

Theodore Roosevelt took the o
day, March 4, 1905, on the east por
Chief Justice Melville Weston Fulle
oath. A spectacular parade from 3
was witnessed by more than 20(
though it was very windy, Rooseve
augural address bareheaded, the fir
so.

LINCOLN'S RING WORN BY R(

Prior to the inauguration, Secret
Hay gave the President a ring that
Abraham Lincoln and taken off h
death. After the ceremonies, Roose
ring to Hay. (John Hay had been Lin
retary.)

ROOSEVELT VISITED A FOREI(

Theodore Roosevelt was the first
a foreign country during his term of o
to Panama on the U.S.S. *Louisiana*. A
ama from November 14 to 17, 1906, h
Rico.

PEACE PRIZE TO ROOSEVELT

The first American recipient of a Nobe
odore Roosevelt, to whom the $4
awarded in 1906 for his services in
treaty of peace between Russia and J
of the Russo-Japanese War.

ROOSEVELT SUBMERGED IN SU

Theodore Roosevelt was the first Pr
merge in a submarine. On Friday, Augu
went aboard the submarine *Plunger*, c
Lieutenant Charles Preston Nelson, i

Hartford, Conn., on August 22, 1902. Twenty carriages followed the presidential automobile during its tour of the city.

After his term of office, Roosevelt again pioneered when he took a ride in an airplane on October 11, 1910, at St. Louis, Mo. He was a passenger in an airplane piloted by Archie Hoxsey. Roosevelt was the first of the Presidents to fly in an airplane.

ROOSEVELT APPOINTED COMMERCE AND LABOR SECRETARY

On February 16, 1903, Theodore Roosevelt appointed George B. Cortelyou Secretary of Commerce and Labor, the first man to hold that office.

INAUGURATION IN 1905

Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office Saturday, March 4, 1905, on the east portico of the Capitol. Chief Justice Melville Weston Fuller administered the oath. A spectacular parade from 3:00 P.M. to 6:15 P.M. was witnessed by more than 200,000 visitors. Although it was very windy, Roosevelt delivered his inaugural address bareheaded, the first President to do so.

LINCOLN'S RING WORN BY ROOSEVELT

Prior to the inauguration, Secretary of State John Hay gave the President a ring that had been worn by Abraham Lincoln and taken off his hand after his death. After the ceremonies, Roosevelt returned the ring to Hay. (John Hay had been Lincoln's private secretary.)

ROOSEVELT VISITED A FOREIGN COUNTRY

Theodore Roosevelt was the first President to visit a foreign country during his term of office. He traveled to Panama on the U.S.S. *Louisiana.* After visiting Panama from November 14 to 17, 1906, he went to Puerto Rico.

PEACE PRIZE TO ROOSEVELT

The first American recipient of a Nobel Prize was Theodore Roosevelt, to whom the $40,000 prize was awarded in 1906 for his services in concluding the treaty of peace between Russia and Japan at the end of the Russo-Japanese War.

ROOSEVELT SUBMERGED IN SUBMARINE

Theodore Roosevelt was the first President to submerge in a submarine. On Friday, August 25, 1905, he went aboard the submarine *Plunger,* commanded by Lieutenant Charles Preston Nelson, in Long Island Sound, off Oyster Bay, N.Y. The *Plunger* submerged to a depth of twenty feet in water from thirty to forty feet deep, remaining stationary for about fifty-five minutes. Roosevelt operated the controls. At one time, the lights were turned off and the *Plunger* operated in complete darkness.

ASSASSINATION OF ROOSEVELT ATTEMPTED

When President Roosevelt was leaving the Hotel Gilpatrick in Milwaukee, Wis., on October 14, 1912, about 8 P.M., en route to the Auditorium to make a speech during the presidential campaign, John Nepomuk Schrank, a saloon keeper, attempted to assassinate him. Roosevelt was shot in the chest. The assassin was opposed to Roosevelt's attempt to capture a third term.

Although the bullet tore through his coat and his shirt was covered with blood, Roosevelt said, "I will deliver this speech or die, one or the other." He began "Friends, I shall ask you to be very quiet and please excuse me from making you a very long speech. I'll do the best I can, but, you see, there is a bullet in my body. But, it's nothing. I'm not hurt badly." He spoke about fifty minutes and then went to the hospital.

Five alienists decided Schrank was suffering from insane delusions, and on November 13, 1912, he was declared insane. He was committed to the Northern State Hospital for the Insane at Oshkosh, Wis., and died September 15, 1943, at Central State Hospital, Waupun, Wis.

THE PRESIDENT'S FAMILY

When Theodore Roosevelt succeeded to the presidency, Edith Kermit Carow, Roosevelt's second wife, became the first lady of the land. The White House was a lively place because of the activities of the President's children—four sons and two daughters. During Roosevelt's administration, Alice Lee Roosevelt, the daughter of the President by his first wife, Alice Lee, was married to Nicholas Longworth, a Representative from Ohio, at the White House.

FURTHER READING

Chessman, G. W. *Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Power.* 1969.

Harbaugh, William H. *Power and Responsiblity.* 1961.

———. *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt.* 1963.

Morris, Edmund. *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt.* 1979.

Mowry, George E. *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement.* 1946.

WHITE HOUSE WEDDINGS—*Continued*

1874

May 21, Nellie Grant, daughter of President Ulysses Simpson Grant, to Algernon Charles Frederick Sartoris of the British legation; the Reverend Dr. Tiffany officiated

1878

June 19, Emily Platt, niece of President Rutherford Birchard Hayes, to Colonel Russell Hastings; Bishop Jagger officiated

1886

June 2, Frances Folsom to President Grover Cleveland; the Reverend Dr. Sunderland officiated

1906

Feb. 17, Alice Roosevelt, daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt, to Representative Nicholas Longworth; the Right Reverend Mr. Satterlee officiated

1913

Nov. 25, Jessie Woodrow Wilson, daughter of President Woodrow Wilson, to Francis Bowes Sayre; the Reverend Dr. Beach officiated

1914

May 7, Eleanor Wilson, daughter of President Woodrow Wilson, to William Gibbs McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury in President Wilson's cabinet; the Reverend Dr. Beach officiated

1918

Aug. 7, Alice Wilson, niece of President Woodrow Wilson, to the Reverend Isaac Stuart McElroy, Jr.; the Reverend Isaac Stuart McElroy, Sr., officiated

1942

July 30, Mrs. Louise Gill Macy to Harry L. Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce in President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's second administration; the Reverend Mr. Clinchy officiated

1967

Dec. 9, Lynda Bird Johnson, daughter of President Lyndon Baines Johnson, to Charles Spittal Robb; the Reverend Gerald McAllister officiated

1971

June 12, Patricia (Tricia) Nixon, daughter of President Richard Milhous Nixon, to Edward Ridley Finch Cox; the Reverend Edward Gardiner Latch officiated

THE PRESIDENTS' DESCENDANTS

The direct lineage of the Presidents extends to the ninth and tenth generations in the case of John Adams and Jefferson. Jefferson's descendants number over 1, 225; Adams' descendants over 735.

The President with the greatest number of children was John Tyler, who had fifteen children by his two wives. William Henry Harrison led with the greatest number of grandchildren and great-grandchildren. He had 48 grandchildren and 106 great-grandchildren.

With the death of Presidents Washington, Madison, Jackson, Polk, Pierce, Buchanan, McKinley, and Harding, their respective lines ceased.

PRESIDENTS' DESCENDANTS MARRIED

On June 30, 1853, Mary Louise Adams married William Clarkson Johnson. Both were descendants of President John Adams, and she was also descended from President John Quincy Adams. He was born August 16, 1823, in Utica, N.Y. and she was born December 2, 1828, in Washington, D.C. It was his second marriage.

On November 16, 1961, Newell Garfield, Jr., great-grandson of President Garfield, married (Mary) Jane Harrison Walker, great-granddaugher of President Benjamin Harrison. She was born November 3, 1929, and he was born July 8, 1923. It was his second marriage.

On December 22, 1968, Julie Nixon, daughter of President Nixon, married David Eisenhower, grandson of President Eisenhower. She was born July 5, 1948, at Washington, D. C., and he was born March 31, 1948, at West Point, N.Y. They were childhood acquaintances, Nixon having served as Vice President during the Eisenhower administration.

THE PRESIDENTS' NAMES

Eight Presidents bore the same given names as their fathers; John Adams, James Madison, Andrew Jackson, John Tyler, James Buchanan, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Jimmy Carter. Gerald Ford had the same name as his father, Leslie Lynch King, but took the name of his adoptive father instead.

Eight Presidents had family names ending in son: Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Andrew Johnson, Benjamin Harrison, Wilson, and Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Three Presidents had the same family names as the three earlier Presidents to whom they were related: John Quincy Adams, son of John Adams; Benjamin Harrison, grandson of William Henry Harrison; and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a fifth cousin of Theodore Roosevelt.

Andrew Johnson and Lyndon Baines Johnson bore the same family name but were not related.

Seventeen of the forty Presidents were not given a middle initial or name. They were George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, John Tyler, Zachary Taylor, Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, and Theodore Roosevelt. (Harry Truman had only the middle initial "S.")

Twenty-two of the forty Presidents were given biblical names. Six were named James—the name most frequently given: Madison, Monroe, Polk, Buchanan, Garfield (whose middle name, Abram, was also biblical), and Carter. Five were named John: John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Tyler, Coolidge (originally John Calvin), and Kennedy. Two were named Andrew: Jackson and Johnson. Two were named Thomas: Jefferson and Wilson (originally Thomas Woodrow). One—Lincoln—was named Abraham. One—Harrison—was named Benjamin. Also given biblical names were Harding, whose middle name was Gamaliel; Eisenhower, who transposed his names from David Dwight to Dwight David; Taylor, whose first

name, Zachary, was an ada
Grant, who dropped his origi
and Cleveland, who dropped
Stephen.

Six Presidents were given a
they later changed. Hiram Uly
ses Simpson Grant, Stephen G
Grover Cleveland, Thomas W
Woodrow Wilson, John Calvi
vin Coolidge, and David Dwi
Dwight David Eisenhower. Ge
lie Lynch King and assumed t
father.

The last names of five Presi
ter H: William Henry Harriso
Hayes, Benjamin Harrison,
ding, and Herbert Clark Hoo

NICKNAMES AND SOBRI

Many of the Presidents ha
names and sobriquets, a few c
In some instances, malconter
to those whom they disliked

Washington

American Fabius

Atlas of America

Cincinnatus of the West

Deliverer of America

Farmer President

Father of His Country

Father of Pittsburgh

Old Fox

Sage of Mount Vernon

Savior of His Country

Stepfather of His Country

Surveyor President

Sword of the Revolution

J. Adams

Atlas of Independence

Colossus of Debate

Colossus of Independece

Duke of Braintree

Father of American Indepe

Father of the American Na

His Rotundity

Old Sink or Swim

Partisan of Independence

Jefferson

Father of the Declaration o

Father of the University of

name, Zachary, was an adaptation of Zachariah; Grant, who dropped his original first name, Hiram; and Cleveland, who dropped his original first name, Stephen.

Six Presidents were given at birth first names that they later changed. Hiram Ulysses Grant became Ulysses Simpson Grant, Stephen Grover Cleveland became Grover Cleveland, Thomas Woodrow Wilson became Woodrow Wilson, John Calvin Coolidge became Calvin Coolidge, and David Dwight Eisenhower became Dwight David Eisenhower. Gerald Ford was born Leslie Lynch King and assumed the name of his adoptive father.

The last names of five Presidents began with the letter H: William Henry Harrison, Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Benjamin Harrison, Warren Gamaliel Harding, and Herbert Clark Hoover.

NICKNAMES AND SOBRIQUETS

Many of the Presidents have been known by nicknames and sobriquets, a few of which are given below. In some instances, malcontents have applied epithets to those whom they disliked intensely.

Washington

American Fabius

Atlas of America

Cincinnatus of the West

Deliverer of America

Farmer President

Father of His Country

Father of Pittsburgh

Old Fox

Sage of Mount Vernon

Savior of His Country

Stepfather of His Country

Surveyor President

Sword of the Revolution

J. Adams

Atlas of Independence

Colossus of Debate

Colossus of Independece

Duke of Braintree

Father of American Independence

Father of the American Navy

His Rotundity

Old Sink or Swim

Partisan of Independence

Jefferson

Father of the Declaration of Independence

Father of the University of Virginia

Long Tom

Man of the People

Pen of the Revolution

Philosopher of Democracy

Red Fox

Sage of Monticello

Scribe of the Revolution

Madison

Father of the Constitution

Sage of Montpelier

Monroe

Era of Good Feeling President

Last of the Cocked Hats

J. Q. Adams

Accidental President

Old Man Eloquent

Second

John

Jackson

Duel Fighter

Hero of New Orleans

King Andrew the First

Land Hero of 1812

Mischievous Andy

Old Hickory

People's President

Pointed Arrow

Sage of the Hermitage

Sharp Knife

Van Buren

American Talleyrand

Enchanter

Fox

Kinderhook Fox

King Martin the First

Little Magician

Little Van

Machiavellian Belshazzar

Mistletoe Politician

Petticoat Pet

Red Fox of Kinderhook

Sage of Kinderhook

need 316

EARLY OCCUPATIONS—*Continued*

TAFT Lawyer

WILSON Lawyer, teacher

HARDING Journalist, publisher

COOLIDGE Lawyer

HOOVER Engineer

F. D. ROOSEVELT Lawyer

TRUMAN Farmer, haberdasher, judge

EISENHOWER Soldier

KENNEDY Student, legislator

L. B. JOHNSON Teacher, rancher

NIXON Lawyer

FORD Lawyer

CARTER Farmer, businessman

REAGAN Actor, corporate spokesman

BUSH Businessman, Congressman

OCCUPATIONS AFTER TERMS

Three Presidents engaged in governmental activities after completing their terms: John Quincy Adams became a representative, Andrew Johnson became a senator, and Hoover was active on various government commissions.

Grant, Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower, L. B. Johnson, and Nixon devoted considerable time to writing; Hoover, Truman, and Eisenhower were also active as public speakers.

John Adams, Pierce, and Buchanan retired from public life and avoided public appearances.

Five Presidents were active as farmers or planters: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, and Hayes. Washington was also active as commander-in-chief of the army.

Benjamin Harrison was a professor of international law at Leland Stanford University.

Six Presidents traveled extensively after their terms: Van Buren, Fillmore, Polk, Pierce, Grant, and Theodore Roosevelt.

Truman, Eisenhower, L. B. Johnson, Ford, and Carter devoted much time to developing the libraries named for them.

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

Presidents who had not revealed administrative ability prior to election or proved their vote-getting power were those famed for their military exploits, namely Washington, Grant, and Eisenhower. Grant, however, had served in Andrew Johnson's cabinet as secretary of war ad interim.

The following is a list of the various capacities in which Presidents served and the number of Presidents who served in each:

Mayors of home towns—3

Ministers to foreign countries—8

Governors of states—15

Territorial governors—2

Vice Presidents—14

Members of presidential cabinets—9

U.S. Representatives—19

U. S. Senators—16

Members of both the House and Senate—10

Some Presidents served in more than one capacity.

MAYORS OF HOME TOWNS

A. JOHNSON Greeneville, Tenn., 1830–1834

CLEVELAND Buffalo, N.Y., 1882

COOLIDGE Northampton, Mass., 1910–1911

MINISTERS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

J. ADAMS Great Britain

JEFFERSON France

MONROE France

J. Q. ADAMS The Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Great Britain

VAN BUREN Great Britain

W. H. HARRISON Colombia

BUCHANAN Great Britain

BUSH People's Republic of China

STATE GOVERNORS

JEFFERSON Virginia

MONROE Virginia

VAN BUREN New York

TYLER Virginia

POLK Tennessee

HAYES Ohio

A. JOHNSON Tennessee

CLEVELAND New York

MCKINLEY Ohio

T. ROOSEVELT New York

WILSON New Jersey

COOLIDGE Massachusetts

F. D. ROOSEVELT New York

CARTER Georgia

REAGAN California

TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

JACKSON Florida

W. H. HARRISON Indiana

PRESIDENTS WHO SERVE PRESIDENTS

J. Adams	T. R
Jefferson	Coo
Van Buren	Tru
Tyler	Nix
Fillmore	L. B
A. Johnson	For
Arthur	Bus

PRESIDENTS WHO SERVE PRESIDENTIAL CABIN

Secretary of State

JEFFERSON (under Washingtor 3, 1797 (entered upon duties M

MADISON (under Jefferson), 1801 (entered upon duties May

MONROE (under Madison), 1817 (entered upon duties Apr.

J. Q. ADAMS (under Monroe) 1825 (entered upon duties Sept

VAN BUREN (under Jackson), 1831 (entered upon duties Mar.

BUCHANAN (under Polk), Mar. (entered upon duties Mar. 10,

BUCHANAN (under Taylor), 1849

Secretary of War

MONROE (under Madison), ad Jan. 13, 1813

MONROE (under Madison), 1814–Mar. 14, 1815

GRANT (under Johnson), ad i Jan. 13, 1868

TAFT (under T. Roosevelt), J 1908 (to take effect Feb. 1, 190

Secretary of Commerce

HOOVER (under Harding), Ma

HOOVER (under Coolidge), 1928

PRESIDENTS WHO SERVE STATES REPRESENTE OFFICE

Washington Virginia

Continental Congress, 1774–

J. Adams Massachusetts

Continental Congress 1774–

PRESIDENTS WHO SERVED AS VICE PRESIDENTS

J. Adams	T. Roosevelt
Jefferson	Coolidge
Van Buren	Truman
Tyler	Nixon
Fillmore	L. B. Johnson
A. Johnson	Ford
Arthur	Bush

PRESIDENTS WHO SERVED IN PRESIDENTIAL CABINETS

Secretary of State

JEFFERSON (under Washington), Sept. 26, 1789–Mar. 3, 1797 (entered upon duties Mar. 22, 1790)

MADISON (under Jefferson), Mar. 5, 1808–Mar. 3, 1801 (entered upon duties May 2, 1801)

MONROE (under Madison), Apr. 2, 1811–Mar. 3, 1817 (entered upon duties Apr. 6, 1811)

J. Q. ADAMS (under Monroe), Mar. 5, 1817–Mar. 3, 1825 (entered upon duties Sept. 22, 1817)

VAN BUREN (under Jackson), Mar. 6, 1829–May 23, 1831 (entered upon duties Mar. 28, 1829)

BUCHANAN (under Polk), Mar. 6, 1845–Mar. 3, 1849 (entered upon duties Mar. 10, 1845)

BUCHANAN (under Taylor), Mar. 4, 1849–Mar. 6, 1849

Secretary of War

MONROE (under Madison), ad interim Jan. 1, 1813–Jan. 13, 1813

MONROE (under Madison), ad interim Aug. 30, 1814–Mar. 14, 1815

GRANT (under Johnson), ad interim Aug. 12, 1867–Jan. 13, 1868

TAFT (under T. Roosevelt), Jan. 11, 1904–June 29, 1908 (to take effect Feb. 1, 1904)

Secretary of Commerce

HOOVER (under Harding), Mar. 5, 1921–Aug. 2, 1923

HOOVER (under Coolidge), Aug. 3, 1923–Aug 21, 1928

PRESIDENTS WHO SERVED IN CONGRESS—STATES REPRESENTED AND TERMS OF OFFICE

Washington Virginia

Continental Congress, 1774–1775

J. Adams Massachusetts

Continental Congress 1774–1778

Jefferson Virginia

Continental Congress, 1775–1776; 1783–1785

Madison Virginia

Continental Congress, 1780–1783; 1786–1788

U.S. House of Representatives, 1st–4th Congresses, Mar. 4, 1789–Mar. 3, 1797

Monroe Virginia

Continental Congress, 1783–1786

U.S. Senate, Nov. 9, 1790–May 27, 1794

J. Q. Adams Massachusetts

U.S. Senate, Mar. 4, 1803–June 8, 1808

U.S. House of Representatives, 22nd–30th Congresses, Mar. 4, 1831–Feb. 23, 1848

Jackson Tennessee

U.S. House of Representatives, 4th Congress, Dec. 5, 1796–Mar. 3, 1797

U.S. Senate, elected for the term commencing Mar. 4, 1797, and served Sept. 26, 1797–Apr. 1798; Mar. 4, 1823–Oct. 14, 1825

Van Buren New York

U.S. Senate, Mar. 4, 1823–Oct. 14, 1825

W. H. Harrison Ohio

U.S. House of Representatives, a delegate from the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, Mar. 4, 1799–May 14, 1800

U.S. House of Representatives, 14th Congress, Oct. 8, 1816–Mar. 3, 1819, took his seat Dec. 2, 1816

U.S. Senate, Mar. 4, 1825–May 20, 1828

Tyler Virginia

U.S. House of Representatives, 16th Congress, Dec. 16, 1817–Mar. 3, 1821

U.S. Senate, Mar. 4, 1827–Feb. 29, 1836

Polk Tennessee

U.S. House of Representatives, 19th–25th Congresses, Mar. 4, 1825–Mar. 3, 1839

Fillmore New York

U.S. House of Representatives, 23rd Congress, Mar. 4, 1833–Mar. 3, 1834

Pierce New Hampshire

U.S. House of Representatives, 23rd–24th Congresses, Mar. 4, 1833–Mar. 3, 1837

U.S. Senate, Mar. 4, 1837–Feb. 28, 1842

Buchanan Pennsylvania

U.S. House of Representatives, 17th–21st Congresses, Mar. 4, 1821–Mar. 3, 1831

U.S. Senate, Dec. 6, 1834–Mar. 5, 1845

Lincoln Illinois

U.S. House of Representatives, 30th Congress, Mar. 4, 1847–Mar. 3, 1849

War of 1812
*Jackson
*W. H. Harrison
*Taylor
Tyler
Buchanan

Seminole War
*Jackson
*Taylor

Black Hawk War
*Taylor
Lincoln

Mexican War
*Taylor
Pierce
*Grant

Civil War
A. Johnson
*Grant
Hayes
Garfield
Arthur
B. Harrison
McKinley

Spanish-American War
T. Roosevelt

World War I
Truman
*Eisenhower

World War II
*Eisenhower
Kennedy
L. B. Johnson
Nixon
Ford
Reagan
Bush

The following had no military service:

J. Adams
Jefferson
Madison
J. Q. Adams
Van Buren
Polk
Fillmore
Cleveland
Taft
Wilson
Harding
Coolidge
Hoover
F. D. Roosevelt

Carter had eleven years of military service but did not take part in a war. He was a mid-shipman at the U.S. Naval Academy during World War II and an officer in the Navy's nuclear submarine program during the Korean War.

PRESIDENTS WOUNDED IN ACTION

James Monore was wounded in the shoulder at the battle of Trenton, N.J., on December 26, 1776, in the Revolutionary War.

Franklin Pierce was injured when his horse fell during the battle of Contreras on August 19, 1847, in the Mexican War.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes was wounded four times while serving in the Union army. On May 10, 1862, a shell wounded his right knee at Giles Court House, Va. He was wounded in the left arm by a musket ball on September 14, 1862, at the battle of South Mountain, Md. On [illegible] by a musket ball. At the battle of Cedar Creek, Va., October 19, 1864, he was wounded in the ankle, his horse was shot from under him, and he was erroneously reported dead. The following day, he was promoted to brigadier general.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy received the Purple Heart for injuries sustained in action off the Solomon Islands on August 2, 1943. Following the ramming and sinking of his PT boat, he personally rescued three of his men, one of whom was seriously wounded.

TWO FUTURE PRESIDENTS IN SAME REGIMENT DURING CIVIL WAR

The 23rd Ohio Regiment, which was organized in June 1861, had on its roster the names of two soldiers who later became Presidents of the United States. On June 23, 1861, William McKinley, age 18, was enrolled as a private. He was promoted to commissary sergeant on April 15, 1862, and commissioned as a second lieutenant on September 23, 1862, and as a first lieutenant on February 7, 1863. He became a captain on July 25, 1864. On March 13, 1865, he was brevetted a major of volunteers for gallantry and meritorious service during the campaign in West Virginia and in the Shenandoah Valley. He was mustered out July 26, 1865.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes, age 38, was commissioned a major on June 27, 1861; he advanced to lieutenant colonel on October 24, 1861, and to colonel on October 24, 1862. He was made a brigadier general of volunteers on October 19, 1864, and was brevetted major general of volunteers on March 13, 1865, for gallantry and distinguished service during the campaign of 1864 in West Virginia, and particularly at the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek, Va. He resigned June 8, 1865.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

The religious affiliation of Presidents often differed from that of their parents, since some of them adopted other religious faiths.

Episcopalian (12)
Washington
Madison
Monroe
W. H. Harrison
Tyler
Taylor
Pierce
Arthur
F. D. Roosevelt
Ford
Reagan
Bush

Presbyterian (7)
Polk
Buchanan
Cleveland
B. Harrison
Wilson
Eisenhower

Unitarian (4)
J. Adams
J. Q. Adams
Fillmore
Taft

Baptist (3)
Harding
Truman

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION—*Continued*

Methodist (3)
Grant
Hayes
McKinley

Disciples of Christ (2)
Garfield
L. B. Johnson

Dutch Reformed
Van Buren
T. Roosevelt

Society of Friends (Quaker) (2)
Hoover
Nixon

Congregationist (1)
Coolidge

Roman Catholic (1)
Kennedy

No specific denomination (3)
Jefferson
Lincoln
A. Johnson

MEMBERS OF PHI BETA KAPPA–YEAR OF ELECTION, CHAPTER, AND TYPE OF MEMBERSHIP

J. Q. Adams 1787, Harvard, in course

Van Buren 1830, Union, honorary

Pierce 1825, Bowdoin, alumnus

Hayes 1880, Kenyon, alumnus

Garfield 1864, Williams, alumnus

Arthur 1848, Union, in course

Cleveland 1907, Princeton, honorary

T. Roosevelt 1880, Harvard, in course

Wilson 1889, Wesleyan, honorary

Coolidge 1921, Amherst, alumnus

F. D. Roosevelt 1929, Harvard, alumnus; 1929, Hobart, honorary

Bush 1948, Yale in course

Members in course are elected from candidates for degrees in liberal arts and sciences, generally from upper tenth of the graduating class.

Alumni members are elected from the alumni body of the sheltering institution; ordinarily they have been graduated at least ten years and are thought to merit recognition for scholarly accomplishment.

Honorary members are elected from outside the student and alumni bodies of the sheltering institution, and are chosen on substantially the same basis as alumni members. Of honorary members the chapters now elect severally an average of not more than one in each triennium.

PRESIDENTS WHO WERE MASONS

Washington Aug. 4, 1753, Fredericksburg Lodge No. 4, Fredericksburg, Va.

Monroe 1775, Williamsburg Lodge No. 6, Williamsburg, Va.

Jackson 1800, Harmony Lodge No. 1, Nashville, Tenn.

Polk Sept. 4, 1820, Columbia Lodge No. 31, Columbia, Tenn.

Buchanan Jan. 24, 1817, Lodge No. 43, Lancaster, Pa.

A. Johnson 1851, Greeneville Lodge No. 119, Greeneville, Tenn.

Garfield Nov. 22, 1864, Magnolia Lodge No. 20, Columbus, Ohio

McKinley May 3, 1865, Hiram Lodge No. 21, Winchester, Va.

T. Roosevelt Apr. 24, 1901, Matinecock Lodge No. 806, Oyster Bay, N.Y.

Taft Feb. 18, 1909, affiliated with Kilwinning Lodge No. 356, Cincinnati, Ohio

Harding Aug. 27, 1920, Marion Lodge No. 70, Marion, Ohio

F. D. Roosevelt Nov. 28, 1911, Holland Lodge No. 8, Hyde Park, N.Y.

Truman Mar. 9, 1909, Belton Lodge No. 450, Belton, Mo.

L. B. Johnson Oct. 30, 1937, Johnson City Lodge No. 561, Johnson City, Tex.

Ford May 18, 1951, Malta Lodge No. 465, Grand Rapids, Mich.

BOOKS WRITTEN BY THE PRESIDENTS

Practically all of the Presidents distinguished themselves as writers. Perhaps the most prolific were John Quincy Adams, Theodore Roosevelt, and Herbert Hoover.

Many of the books contained addresses and speeches and were compiled by editors. Others were extracts from famous speeches and addresses. Many of the famous speeches were published separately in de luxe editions. Many were not written for publication, but eventually were published.

The following list contains most of the books (of 36 or more pages) written by the Presidents. Posthumous collections of letters, speeches, and papers are listed after works prepared specifically for publication by the Presidents themselves. Many collected works containing letters, papers, messages, etc. have also been printed.

George Washington

The letters and papers of George Washington have been published in many collections.

John Adams

Thoughts on Government, 1776

History of the Dispute with America from Its Origin in 1754, 1784

Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America (3 volumes), 1787–1788

Discourses on Davila, 1805

Correspondence Between the Hon. John Adams and the late William Cunningham, 1823

Familiar Letters of John Ada Adams During the Revolut

Thomas Jefferson

A Dissertation on Canon and

Notes on the State of Virgini

Kentucky Resolutions, 1798

Manual of Parliamentary Pr

Proceedings of the Governme Maintaining the Public R Mississippi, 1812

Essay Towards Facilitating I

Writings of Thomas Jefferso

Calendar of Correspondence volumes), 1894–1903

Jeffersonian Cyclopedia, 190

Jefferson's Germantown Lett

Autobiography of Thomas Je

James Madison

Letters of Helvidius, 1796

Examination of the British I

Papers of James Madison (3

Letters and Other Writings umes), 1865

Calendar of the Correspon 1894

Writings of James Madison

James Monroe

View of the Conduct of the E fairs of the United States,

Calendar of the Correspon 1891

Writings of James Monroe

John Quincy Adams

Jubilee of the Constitution,

An answer to Paine's Right

Letters on Silesia, 1804

Letter to Hon. Harrison Gr

Lectures on Rhetoric and C

Duplicate Letters, the Fish Documents Relating to T tion of Ghent, 1822

Eulogy on the Life and Ch 1831

Dermot MacMorrogh, or th

Oration on the Life and Ch La Fayette, 1835

BOOKS WRITTEN BY THE PRESIDENTS—*Continued*

Abraham Lincoln's Complete Works (2 volumes), 1894

Autobiography of Abraham Lincoln, 1905

Writings of Abraham Lincoln (8 volumes), 1905–1906

Life and Works of Abraham Lincoln (9 volumes), 1907

Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln, 1917

Abraham Lincoln's Don'ts, 1918

Andrew Johnson

Speeches of Andrew Johnson, 1866

Ulysses Simpson Grant

Personal Memoirs (2 volumes), 1885–1886

General Grant's Letters to a Friend, 1897

Rutherford Birchard Hayes

Diary and Letters of R.B. Hayes (5 volumes), 1922

James Abram Garfield

Great Speeches of James Abram Garfield, 1881

Grover Cleveland

Principles and Purposes of Our Form of Government, 1892

Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland, 1892

Self Made Man in American Life, 1897

Independence of the Executive, 1900

Presidential Problems, 1904

Fishing and Shooting Sketches, 1906

Good Citizenship, 1908

Addresses—State Papers, 1909

Venezuelan Boundary Controversy, 1913

Letters of Grover Cleveland, 1933

Benjamin Harrison

Constitution and Administration of the U.S.A., 1897

This Country of Ours, 1897

Views of an Ex-President, 1901

William McKinley

Life and Speeches of William McKinley, 1896

The Tariff, 1904

Theodore Roosevelt

Naval War of 1812, 1882

Hunting Trip of a Ranchman, 1885

Personal Experiences of Life on a Cattle Ranch, 1885

Thomas Hart Benton, 1887

Ranch Life and the Hunting-Trail, 1888

Winning of the West, 1889

History of New York City, 1891

The Wilderness Hunter, 1893

Hero Tales from American History (with Henry Cabot Lodge), 1895

Gouverneur Morris, 1896

American Ideals and Other Essays, 1897

Rough Riders, 1899

Oliver Cromwell, 1900

Strenuous Life, 1900

Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter, 1905

Good Hunting, 1907

True Americanism, 1907

African and European Addresses, 1910

African Game Trails, 1910

New Nationalism, 1910

Conservation of Womanhood and Childhood, 1912

Realizable Ideals, 1912

History as Literature and Other Essays, 1913

Progressive Principles, 1913

Theodore Roosevelt, An Autobiography, 1913

Life-Histories of African Game Animals (with Edmund Heller), 1914

Through the Brazilian Wilderness, 1914

America and the World War, 1915

Book-Lover's Holiday in the Open, 1916

Fear God and Take Your Own Part (articles from the *Metropolitan*), 1916

The Foes of Our Own Household, 1917

Great Adventure, 1918

National Strength and International Duty, 1918

Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children, 1919

Letters to Anna Roosevelt Cowles, 1870–1918, 1924

Who Should Go West, 1927

Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth, 1928

Letters to Kermit Roosevelt, 1902–1908, 1946

William Howard Taft

Four Aspects of Civic Duty, 1906

Present Day Problems, Addresses 1908

Political Issues and Outlooks, 1909

Popular Government, 1913

Anti-Trust Act and the Supreme Court, 1914

United States and Peace, 1914

Ethics in Service, 1915

Our Chief Magistrate and His

Liberty Under Law, 1922

Woodrow Wilson

Congressional Government, 18

The State, 1889

State and Federal Governmer 1889

Division and Re-union, 1893

George Washington, 1896

Mere Literature and Other Es

When a Man Comes to Hims

History of the American Peop

Constitutional Government, 1

New Freedom, 1913

On Being Human, 1916

International Ideals, 1919

Robert E. Lee, an Interpretati

Public Papers of Woodrow W 1927

Warren Gamaliel Harding

Rededicating America, 1920

Our Common Country, 1921

Calvin Coolidge

Have Faith in Massachusetts,

Price of Freedom, 1924

America's Need for Educatio

Foundations of the Republic,

Autobiography of Calvin Coo

Herbert Clark Hoover

Principles of Mining, 1909

American Individualism, 192

New Day, 1928

Boyhood in Iowa, 1931

Hoover After Dinner, 1933

Challenge to Liberty, 1934

Addresses Upon the Ameri 1938–1961

America's Way Forward, 19

Shall We Send Our Youth to

America's First Crusade, 19

Problems of Lasting Peace, 1

Richard Milhous Nixon

Six Crises, 1962

RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, 1978

The Real War, 1980

Leaders, 1982

Real Peace, 1983

No More Vietnams, 1985

1999, 1988

Gerald Rudolph Ford

Portrait of the Assassin (co-author John R. Stiles), 1965

A Time to Heal, 1979

Jimmy Carter

Why Not the Best?, 1975

A Government as Good as Its People, 1977

Keeping Faith, 1982

Ronald Reagan

Where's the Rest of Me?, 1965

Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation, 1984

George Bush

Looking Forward: An Autobiography, 1987

National Security Strategy of the United States 1989–1990, 1989

PRESIDENTS' SPORTS AND HOBBIES

Sports or games indulged in by Presidents while in office are listed below. Some Presidents were real enthusiasts, other participated mildly.

Billiards—J. Q. Adams, Garfield

Boating—Bush

Bowling—Nixon

Boxing—T. Roosevelt

Bridge—Eisenhower

Canoeing—Carter

Croquet—Hayes

Driving—Hayes

Fishing—Washington, Jefferson, Arthur, Cleveland, Coolidge, Eisenhower, L. B. Johnson, Carter, Bush

Golf—Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford

Horseshoes—Bush

Hunting—B. Harrison, T. Roosevelt, Eisenhower, L. B. Johnson, Bush

Indian clubs—Coolidge

Jogging—Ford, Carter, Bush

Jujitsu—T. Roosevelt

Mechanical horse—Coolidge

Medicine ball—Hoover

Painting—Eisenhower

Piano—Truman

Pitching hay—Coolidge

Poker—Harding, Truman

Riding—Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Van Buren, Taylor, McKinley, T. Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding, L. B. Johnson, Reagan

Sailing—F. D. Roosevelt, Kennedy, Ford

Shooting—Hayes, T. Roosevelt, Ford

Skiing—Ford, Carter

Softball—Carter

Stamp collecting—F. D. Roosevelt

Swimming—J. Q. Adams, Grant, McKinley, Wilson, F. D. Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Ford, Carter, Reagan

Tennis—T. Roosevelt, Carter, Bush

Touch football—Kennedy

Townball—Lincoln

Trapshooting—Coolidge

Walking—J. Q. Adams, Jefferson, Lincoln, McKinley, Wilson, Truman

Wrestling—Lincoln, T. Roosevelt.

Several Presidents participated in sports at college. Gerald R. Ford, who played linebacker and center on the University of Michigan's championship football teams in 1932 and 1933, was voted Most Valuable Player in 1934. He received offers from several professional teams. Dwight D. Eisenhower played football for the U. S. Military Academy at West Point. Known as "The Kansas Cyclone," he ran seventy yards in a game against Yale in 1912. Jimmy Carter was a cross-country runner at the U. S. Naval Academy, and John F. Kennedy was a member of the Harvard varsity swimming team. George Bush was "good field, fair hit" first baseman for the varsity Yale baseball team. He hit for an average of .280 in his senior year, when Yale lost in the College World Series to the University of Southern California.

PRESIDENTS' MUSICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Very few Presidents had musical training or the ability to play instruments. Jefferson and Tyler played the violin, Truman and Nixon the piano, and Coolidge the harmonica. As a young man, Harding played the alto horn and the cornet.

PRESIDENTIAL PETS

The Presidents and their families, particularly the children, have had a collection of pets that for its diver-

sity would have been the envy
park. At one time or another, th
tered nearly everything that can
fly. Zebras, coyotes, badgers, gui
gators, lizards, snakes, turtles
birds—not to mention innumera
and of course cats and dogs—ha
tive Mansion and its manicured

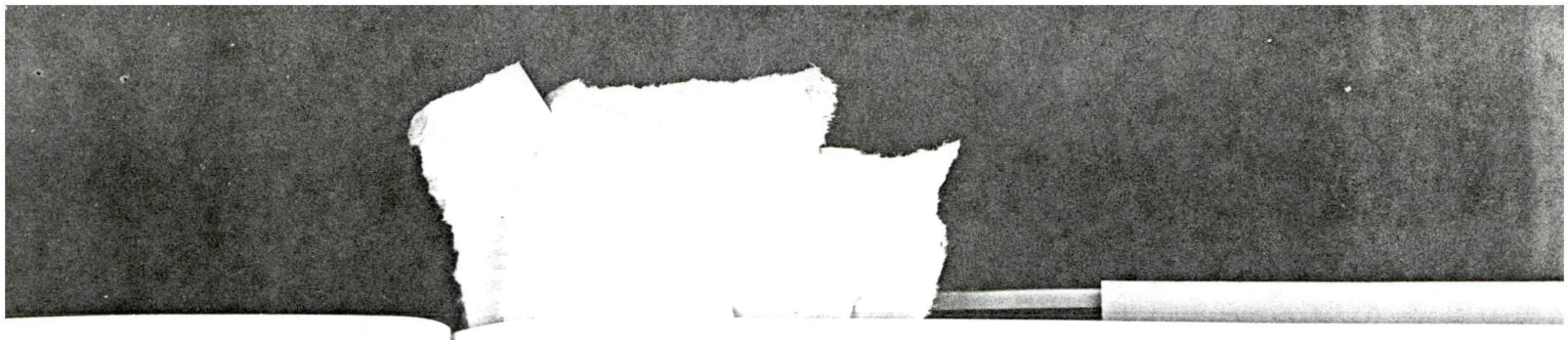
The pets were brought to the
presidential families, purchased
Presidents' tenures, or given to t
taries or by admiring or self-see
complete tabulation of pets has
of the creatures were described
in her book *White House Pets*
1969).

John Quincy Adams raised
Johnson kept white mice, and
had a young lion and several
Taft adminstration, a cow, Paul
the White House lawn, which
trolled by Enoch Gander. McK
yellow parrot. Roosters too ma

RESIDENT STATES OF TH

The Presidents, when inaug
(though not necessarily natives)
low.

New York (8)	Ma
Van Buren	Mo
Fillmore	Tyl
Arthur	**Ma**
Cleveland	J. A
T. Roosevelt	J. C
F. D. Roosevelt	Co
Eisenhower	Ke
Nixon	Te
	Jac
Ohio (6)	Pol
W. H Harrison	A.
Hayes	Ca
Garfield	Ho
McKinley	Re
Taft	Illi
Harding	Lir
Virginia (5)	Gr
Washington	Te
Jefferson	L.



al horse—Coolidge

ball—Hoover

-Eisenhower

ruman

ıay—Coolidge

[arding, Truman

Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Van Buren, , McKinley, T. Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Har- .. B. Johnson, Reagan

F. D. Roosevelt, Kennedy, Ford

—Hayes, T. Roosevelt, Ford

Ford, Carter

-Carter

llecting—F. D. Roosevelt

ıg—J. Q. Adams, Grant, McKinley, Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Ford, Carter, n

T. Roosevelt, Carter, Bush

otball—Kennedy

l—Lincoln

ıting—Coolidge

—J. Q. Adams, Jefferson, Lincoln, McKinley, n, Truman

g—Lincoln, T. Roosevelt.

l Presidents participated in sports at college. .. Ford, who played linebacker and center on versity of Michigan's championship football 1932 and 1933, was voted Most Valuable 1934. He received offers from several profes- ams. Dwight D. Eisenhower played football . S. Military Academy at West Point. Known Kansas Cyclone," he ran seventy yards in a inst Yale in 1912. Jimmy Carter was a cross- unner at the U. S. Naval Academy, and John edy was a member of the Harvard varsity ıg team. George Bush was "good field, fair hit" man for the varsity Yale baseball team. He hit erage of .280 in his senior year, when Yale lost llege World Series to the University of South- ornia.

ENTS' MUSICAL COMPLISHMENTS

ew Presidents had musical training or the abil- ıy instruments. Jefferson and Tyler played the ruman and Nixon the piano, and Coolidge the ca. As a young man, Harding played the alto d the cornet.

DENTIAL PETS

sity would have been the envy of many a zoological park. At one time or another, the White House sheltered nearly everything that can walk, crawl, swim, or fly. Zebras, coyotes, badgers, guinea pigs, hyenas, alligators, lizards, snakes, turtles, tropical fish, and birds—not to mention innumerable horses and ponies, and of course cats and dogs—have shared the Executive Mansion and its manicured grounds.

The pets were brought to the White House by the presidential families, purchased by them during the Presidents' tenures, or given to them by foreign dignitaries or by admiring or self-seeking constituents. No complete tabulation of pets has been made, but some of the creatures were described by Margaret Truman in her book *White House Pets* (New York: McKay, 1969).

John Quincy Adams raised silkworms, Andrew Johnson kept white mice, and Theodore Roosevelt had a young lion and several bear cubs. During the Taft adminstration, a cow, Pauline Wayne, grazed on the White House lawn, which was periodically patrolled by Enoch Gander. McKinley had a Mexican yellow parrot. Roosters too made a brief stay, to the consternation of the other residents.

Dogs seem to have been the favorites of the media. Franklin D. Roosevelt's Scottie, Fala, was almost as famous as the President himself. The Trumans had an Irish setter named Mike, and the Nixons had one named King Timahoe (the better-known Checkers, a cocker spaniel, lived at the vice presidential home). Harding had an Airedale, Laddie Boy, and Lyndon Baines Johnson owned the beagles Him and Her, to whom dog lovers rallied when the President picked them up by their ears (LBJ believed that this was the proper way to lift dogs). One of the beagles (Him) attended Johnson's inaugural parade. Liberty, the golden retriever belonging to the Ford family, gave birth to nine puppies in the White House. The Bushes were fond of springer spaniels.

The National Zoological Park in Washington, D. C., has been the recipient of many exotic animals sent to Presidents or to the American people by foreign governments. In 1972, following Nixon's visit to the People's Republic of China, the Chinese government gave two giant pandas—Ling-Ling and Hsing-Hsing—to the zoo in exchange for two musk oxen.

RESIDENCE

RESIDENT STATES OF THE PRESIDENTS

The Presidents, when inaugurated, were residents (though not necessarily natives) of the states listed below.

New York (8)
Van Buren
Fillmore
Arthur
Cleveland
T. Roosevelt
F. D. Roosevelt
Eisenhower
Nixon

Ohio (6)
W. H Harrison
Hayes
Garfield
McKinley
Taft
Harding

Virginia (5)
Washington
Jefferson
Madison
Monroe
Tyler

Massachusetts (4)
J. Adams
J. Q. Adams
Coolidge
Kennedy

Tennessee (3)
Jackson
Polk
A. Johnson

California (2)
Hoover
Reagan

Illinois (2)
Lincoln
Grant
Bush

Georgia (1)
Carter

Indiana (1)
B. Harrison

Louisiana (1)
Taylor

Michigan (1)
Ford

Missouri (1)
Truman

New Hampshire (1)
Pierce

New Jersey (1)
Wilson

Pennsylvania (1)
Buchanan

PRESIDENTS WHO RESIDED IN STATES OTHER THAN THEIR BIRTHPLACES

The seventeen Presidents listed below were residents of states other than their native states. The name of each is followed by (1) the state in which he resided and (2) the state in which he was born.

JACKSON Tennessee, South Carolina

W. H. HARRISON Ohio, Virginia

POLK Tennessee, North Carolina

TAYLOR Louisiana, Virginia

LINCOLN Illinois, Kentucky

A. JOHNSON Tennessee, North Carolina

GRANT Illinois, Ohio

ARTHUR New York, Vermont

PRESIDENTS WHO RESIDED IN STATES OTHER THAN THEIR BIRTHPLACES—*Continued*

WILSON New Jersey, Virginia

COOLIDGE Massachusetts, Vermont

HOOVER California, Iowa

EISENHOWER New York, Texas

NIXON New York, California

FORD Michigan, Nebraska

REAGAN California, Illinois

BUSH Texas, Massachusetts (Bush was born in Massachusetts but grew up in Connecticut and attended Yale)

FAMOUS PRESIDENTIAL HOMES

Many of the Presidents were born in or lived in homes which have become famous. Some of the more famous homes or estates follow:

WASHINGTON Mount Vernon, Mount Vernon, Va.

JEFFERSON Monticello, Charlottesville, Va.

MADISON Montpelier, Va.

MONROE Ash Lawn, Oak Hill, Va.

JACKSON The Hermitage, Nashville, Tenn.

VAN BUREN Lindenwald, Kinderhook, N.Y.

TYLER Sherwood Forest, Charles City County, Va.

BUCHANAN Wheatland, Pa.

HAYES Spiegel Grove, near Fremont, Ohio

T. ROOSEVELT Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, N.Y.

COOLIDGE The Beeches, Northampton, Mass.

L. B. JOHNSON The LBJ Ranch, near Johnson City, Tex.

There are other well-known residences, such as the F. D. Roosevelt home at Hyde Park, N.Y., and the Eisenhower farm at Gettysburg, Pa., but they are not known by any special names.

AGE AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

AGES OF PRESIDENTS IN OFFICE

The oldest President inaugurated was Ronald Wilson Reagan, who was 69 years and 349 days old when he was inaugurated.

William Henry Harrison was 68 years and 23 days old when he was inaugurated. He served only 31 days before he died.

President Eisenhower was 62 years and 98 days old when he was inaugurated. When he left office after two terms, he was 70 years and 98 days old, the oldest President to have completed his tenure, until Reagan, who stepped down at the age of 77 years, 349 days.

Andrew Jackson was 69 years and 354 days old when he completed his eight years as President.

James Buchanan was 69 years and 315 days old when he left office, but he served only four years. He was four years older than Jackson when inaugurated.

The youngest President elected to office was John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who was 43 years and 236 days old when he was inaugurated. Theodore Roosevelt was 42 years and 322 days old when he succeeded to the presidency.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

There is much interest in comparing the physical characteristics of the Presidents at the time when they were inaugurated or assumed office.

As contemporary reports vary and as writers interpret according to their own impressions, many conflicting reports exist. The description of a Republican President by a Democrat may differ from one by a Repubublican, and even without bias due to politics, personal appraisals by different people may vary.

The following is a list of known characteristics:

Washington

Height, 6 feet 2 inches; weight, 175 pounds; brown sandy hair, powdered, under powdered wig; blue eyes; high brow, scar on left cheek, black mole under right ear, pock-marks on nose and cheeks; strongly pointed chin; false teeth; powerful physique; broad sloping shoulders

J. Adams

Height, 5 feet 7 inches; corpulent; bald; expanded eyebrows

Jefferson

Height, 6 feet 2½ inches; sandy, reddish hair; prominent cheekbones and chin; large hands and feet

Madison

Height, 5 feet 4 inches (smallest President in stature); weight about 100 pounds; blond hair; blue eyes; weak speaking voice

Monroe

Height, 6 feet; rugged physique; blue-gray eyes, well shaped nose, broad forehead; stooped shoulders

J. Q. Adams

Height, 5 feet 7 inches; bald

Jackson

Height; 6 feet 1 inch; thin; weight, 140 pounds; bushy iron-gray hair, brushed high above forehead; clear, dark blue eyes; prominent eyebrows

Van Buren

Height, 5 feet 6 inches; small, erect, slender; red and graying hair, bald spot; deep wrinkles

W. H. Harrison

Height, 5 feet 8 inches; long
tures

Tyler

Height, 6 feet; thin; light br
complexion; high-bridge

Polk

Height, 5 feet 8 inches; near
sharp gray eyes; high fore

Taylor

Height, 5 feet 8 inches; we
hair; gray eyes, squint;
legs in proportion to boc

Fillmore

Height, 5 feet 9 inches; fi
thin, grayish hair; blue
smooth forehead; well-d

Pierce

Height, 5 feet 10 inches; e
dark gray eyes; light c
head; well-developed ch

Buchanan

Height, 6 feet; imperfect
protruding chin; short n

Lincoln

Height, 6 feet 4 inches (tall
pounds; beard; black ha

A. Johnson

Height, 5 feet 10 inches;
long; light eyes; high fo

Grant

Height, 5 feet 8½ inches; be
large head; heavy nostr

Hayes

Height, 5 feet 8½ inches;
brown hair; sandy red b
large head, high foreh
brows; mild but very a

Garfield

Height, 6 feet; light bro
hair line; beard; blue e
head; strong frame, br

Arthur

Height, 6 feet 2 inches; f
tache; handsome appe
body

Cleveland

Height, 5 feet 11 inches;
lent; graying hair, gro
mustache; short neck

B. Harrison

Height, 5 feet 6 inches
beard; small, bright b
legs

McKinley

Height, 5 feet 7 inches; h
line; prominent chin;

LAST WORDS—*Continued*

J. Q. Adams "This is the last of earth. I am content."

Jackson "I hope to meet each of you in heaven. Be good children, all of you, and strive to be ready when the change comes."

Van Buren "There is but one reliance."

W. H. Harrison "Sir, I wish you to understand the true principles of government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more." (Spoken in delirium to Vice President Tyler)

Tyler "Doctor, I am going . . . perhaps it is best."

Polk "I love you, Sarah, for all eternity, I love you."

Taylor "I am about to die. I expect the summons very soon. I have tried to discharge all my duties faithfully. I regret nothing, but am sorry that I am about to leave my friends."

Fillmore "The nourishment (food) is palatable."

Buchanan "O Lord, God Almighty, as Thou wilt."

A. Johnson "Oh, do no cry. Be good children and we shall meet in Heaven."

Grant "Water."

Hayes "I know that I am going where Lucy is." (His wife)

Garfield "The people my trust." "Oh, Swaim, there is a pain here . . . oh, oh, Swaim." (Spoken to David Gaskill Swaim, his chief of staff)

Cleveland "I have tried so hard to do right."

B. Harrison "Are the doctors here?" "Doctor . . . my lungs."

McKinley "It is God's way. His will be done, not ours." "We are all going, we are all going, we are all going. Oh, dear."

T. Roosevelt "Please put out the light."

Wilson "Edith." (His wife) "I'm a broken machine, but I'm ready."

Harding "That's good. Go on, read some more." (Spoken to his wife, who was reading to him)

F. D. Roosevelt "I have a terrific headache."

Eisenhower "I've always loved my wife. I've always loved my children. I've always loved my grandchildren. And I have always loved my country."

Kennedy "My God, I've been hit." (This is what Kennedy is *reputed* to have said, although one of the Secret Servicemen riding in the car when the President was shot has said that Kennedy made no remarks after he was struck.)

BURIAL SITES

Washington
Mount Vernon, Va., family vault

J. Adams
Quincy, Mass. First Unitarian Church

Jefferson
"Monticello," Charlottesville, Va., family plot

Madison
Montpelier, Va., family plot

Monroe
Richmond, Va., Hollywood Cemetery

J. Q. Adams
Quincy, Mass., First Unitarian Church

Jackson
Nashville, Tenn., Hermitage estate

Van Buren
Kinderhook, N. Y., Kinderhook Cemetery

W. H. Harrison
North Bend, Ohio, William Henry Harrison Memorial State Park

Tyler
Richmond, Va., Hollywood Cemetery

Polk
Nashville, Tenn., State Capitol grounds

Taylor
Louisville, Ky., Zachary Taylor National Cemetery

Fillmore
Buffalo, N.Y., Forest Lawn Cemetery

Pierce
Concord, N.H., Old North Cemetery

Buchanan
Lancaster, Pa., Woodward Hill Cemetery

Lincoln
Springfield, Ill., Oak Ridge Cemetery

A. Johnson
Greeneville, Tenn., Andrew Johnson National Cemetery

Grant
New York, N.Y., Grant's Tomb

Hayes
Fremont, Ohio, Spiegel Grove State Park

Garfield
Cleveland, Ohio, Lake View Cemetery

Arthur
Albany, N.Y., Rural Cemetery

Cleveland
Princeton, N.J., Princeton Cemetery

B. Harrison
Indianapolis, Ind., Crown

McKinley
Canton, Ohio, near Westla

T. Roosevelt
Oyster Bay, N.Y., Young's

Taft
Arlington, Va., Arlington N

Wilson
Washington, D.C., Nationa

Harding
Marion, Ohio, Marion Cer

Coolidge
Plymouth, Vt., Notch Cem

Hoover
West Branch, Iowa

F. D. Roosevelt
Hyde Park, N.Y., family p

Truman
Independence, Mo., Harry
tute

Eisenhower
Abilene, Kan.

Kennedy
Arlington, Va., Arlington

L. B. Johnson
Johnson City, Tex., family

PRESIDENTS BURIED AT

The first President buried i
at Arlington, Va., was Willia
March 11, 1930. On Noven
John Fitzgerald Kennedy wa

PRESIDENTS BURIED IN CHURCH

Two Presidents are buried
Adams, the second presiden
and his son, John Quincy Ad
who died February 23, 1848.
First Unitarian Church, Qui

THE PRESIDENTS' ESTA

There has always been inte
tates of Presidents. In order n
impression, there are certain

First, there is a variance
the same estate by different p
ing real property and perso
piece of property is actually
high to low according to diff

PRESIDENTS DEPICTED ON COINS—*Continued*

The sixth President depicted on a U.S. coin was Dwight David Eisenhower, shown on a silver dollar.

PRESIDENTS DEPICTED ON PAPER CURRENCY

Portraits of Presidents appear on U.S. paper currency on the following denominations: Washington, one dollar; Jefferson, two dollars; Lincoln, five dollars; Jackson, twenty dollars; Grant, fifty dollars; McKinley, five hundred dollars; Cleveland, one thousand dollars; Madison, five thousand dollars; Wilson, one hundred thousand dollars.

PRESIDENTS DEPICTED ON POSTAGE STAMPS

The Presidents have served as subjects on postage stamps since the first issue in 1847, but it was not until 1938 that one issue depicted all the Presidents.

The 1938 issue of ordinary postage stamps showed likenesses of all the Presidents from Washington to Coolidge arranged in accordance with their tenure of office. The following list names the President, the denomination and color of the stamp, and the date of issue in 1938:

WASHINGTON 1 cent green, Apr. 25

J. ADAMS 2 cent red, June 3

JEFFERSON 3 cent purple, June 16

MADISON 4 cent pink, July 1

MONROE 5 cent blue, July 21

J. Q. ADAMS 6 cents red orange, July 28

JACKSON 7 cent sepia, Aug. 4

VAN BUREN 8 cent olive, Aug. 11

W. H. HARRISON 9 cent pink, Aug. 18

TYLER 10 cent salmon, Sept. 2

POLK 11 cent blue, Sept. 8

TAYLOR 12 cent lavender, Sept. 14

FILLMORE 13 cent green, Sept. 22

PIERCE 14 cent blue, Oct. 6

BUCHANAN 15 cent gray, Oct. 13

LINCOLN 16 cent black, Oct. 20

JOHNSON 17 cent crimson, Oct. 27

GRANT 18 cent brown, Nov. 3

HAYES 19 cent lilac, Nov. 10

GARFIELD 20 cent green, Nov. 10

ARTHUR 21 cent steel blue, Nov. 22

CLEVELAND 22 cent copper red, Nov. 22

B. HARRISON 24 cent gray, Dec. 2

MCKINLEY 25 cent burgundy, Dec. 2

T. ROOSEVELT 30 cent blue, Dec. 8

TAFT 50 cent lavender, Dec. 8

WILSON $1 lavender and black, Aug. 29

HARDING $2 green and black, Sept. 29

COOLIDGE $5 red and black, Nov. 17

THE KENNEDY POSTAGE STAMP

The five-cent John F. Kennedy memorial stamp was first placed on sale May 29, 1964, at Boston, Mass. There were 2,003,096 first-day covers canceled. The printing order was 500 million stamps. The likeness was based on a photograph taken by William S. Murphy of the Los Angeles *Times*.

On May 29, 1965, an eleven-cent aerogramme was first placed on sale at Boston, Mass. An initial printing of 20 million of the lightweight "make-it-yourself" envelope was authorized. The aerogramme, based on a photograph taken by Douglas Jones of Look magazine, was printed in gold, purple, and black. The toal run was 112 million of which 337,422 were first-day cancellations.

On May 29, 1967, a thirteen-cent brown stamp, the rate for surface mail to any part of the world, was issued at Bookline, Mass., on the fiftieth anniversary of Kennedy's birthday.

The design of this vertical issue was based on a photograph by Jacques Lowe in the book *The Kennedy Years*.

EISENHOWER STAMPS ISSUED

A six-cent vertical Eisenhower stamp was first issued on August 6, 1970, at Washington, D.C. It was designed by Robert Geissmann and Leonard Buckley, and was released in an unlimited printing.

On May 10, 1971, two commemorative stamps were issued at Abilene, Kans. They were a jumbo-size six-cent stamp, designed by Robert J. Jones, of which over 150 million were printed, and an eight-cent stamp designed by Robert Geissmann

TRUMAN STAMP ISSUED

A vertical eight-cent Truman memorial stamp was first issued May 8, 1973, at Independence, Mo. It was printed on the Giori press in black, red, and blue and was designed by Bradbury Thompson based on a photograph taken by Leo Stein.

JOHNSON STAMP ISSUED

An eight-cent vertical jumbo-size Lyndon B. Johnson memorial stamp was released August 27, 1973, at Austin, Tex., on the sixty-fifth anniversary of his birth. It was designed by Bradbury Thompson based on a portrait by Madame Elizabeth Shoumatoff. It was printed by gravure on the Andreotti press in six inks: buff, yellow, red, blue, and two blacks of different consistency.

THE PRESIDENTIAL MEI

The thirty-nine Presidents o
been commemorated by bron
in diameter. These medals are
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each with the understanding t
sold at a profit.

The Washington medal wa
the Jefferson and Madison me
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and Gasparro. The Nixon me
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The designers of the John
Taylor medals are unknown.

PRESIDENTS IN THE HA

The Hall of Fame for Gre
York University campus, Ne
twelve Presidents.

At the first Hall of Fame e
dents were elected: Washing
son, Lincoln, and Grant.

In 1905, two more Preside
and John Quincy Adams.

Five years later, Jackson
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and Theodore Roosevelt we

One of the qualifications
five years must have passed
nominee and the election.

PRESIDENTS IN STATU

Statuary Hall, established
mits each state to place in S
of Representatives, two sta
guished citizens. The statue
been placed in the rotunda:
by Tennessee, and Washing

PLACES NAMED FOR P

Only one state, Washing
President. The capital cities
for Presidents; Jackson, M
Lincoln, Neb., and Madiso

THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDALS

The thirty-nine Presidents of the United States have been commemorated by bronze medals, three inches in diameter. These medals are sold by the Superintendent, United States Mint, Philadelphia, Pa., for $5.25 each with the understanding that they are not to be resold at a profit.

The Washington medal was designed by DuVivier; the Jefferson and Madison medals by Reich; the Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Jackson and Van Buren medals by Furst; the William Henry Harrison, Lincoln, Hayes, Wilson, and Harding medals by Morgan; the Garfield, Arthur, Benjamin Harrison, McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Taft medals by C. Barber and Morgan; the Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan medals by Ellis and Wilson; the Andrew Johnson medal by Pacquet; the Grant and Cleveland medals by W. Barber; the Coolidge, Hoover, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt medals by Sinnock; the Truman medal (first term) by Sinnock and Roberts, (second term) by Roberts and von Hebel; the Eisenhower medal (first term) and the Kennedy and L. B. Johnson medals by Roberts and Gasparro. The Nixon medal was also designed by Frank Gasparro. The Ford medal was designed by Gasparro and Matthew Peloso, the Carter medal by Peloso, and the Reagan medal by Edward J. Fraughton.

The designers of the John Adams, Tyler, Polk, and Taylor medals are unknown.

PRESIDENTS IN THE HALL OF FAME

The Hall of Fame for Great Americans on the New York University campus, New York City, has honored twelve Presidents.

At the first Hall of Fame election in 1900, five Presidents were elected: Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Grant.

In 1905, two more Presidents were elected: Madison and John Quincy Adams.

Five years later, Jackson was elected. In 1930, Monroe was elected, and in 1935, Cleveland. Both Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt were elected in 1950.

One of the qualifications for election is that twenty-five years must have passed between the death of the nominee and the election.

PRESIDENTS IN STATUARY HALL

Statuary Hall, established by act of July 2, 1864, permits each state to place in Statuary Hall, in the House of Representatives, two statues honoring their distinguished citizens. The statues of three Presidents have been placed in the rotunda: Garfield by Ohio, Jackson by Tennessee, and Washington by Virginia.

PLACES NAMED FOR PRESIDENTS

Only one state, Washington, bears the name of a President. The capital cities of four states were named for Presidents; Jackson, Miss., Jefferson City, Mo., Lincoln, Neb., and Madison, Wis.

COUNTIES NAMED FOR PRESIDENTS

The following is a list of counties named for Presidents. (A number of similarly named counties commemorate other individuals who bore the same names as certain Presidents.)

Washington 31

Ala., Ark., Colo., Fla., Ga., Idaho, Ill. Ind., Iowa, Kan., Ky., La., Me., Md., Minn., Miss., Mo., Neb., N.Y., N.C., Ohio, Okla., Ore., Pa., R.I., Tenn., Tex., Utah, Vt., Va., Wis.

Jefferson 26

Ala., Ark., Colo., Fla., Ga., Idaho, Ill., Ind., Iowa, Kan., Ky., La., Miss., Mo., Mont., Neb., N.Y., Ohio, Okla., Ore., Pa., Tenn., Tex., Wash., W.Va., Wis.

Jackson 22

Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., Idaho, Ill., Ind., Iowa, Ky., La., Miss., Mo., Mont., N.Y., N.C., Ohio, Tenn., Tex., Va.

Lincoln 16

Ark., Colo., Idaho, Kan., La., Minn., Miss., Neb., Nev., N.M., Okla., Ore., S.D., Wash., W.Va., Wyo.

Grant 12

Ark., Kan., La., Minn., Neb., N.M., N.D., Okla., Ore., S.D., Wash., W.Va.

Polk 11

Ark., Fla., Ga., Iowa., Minn., Mo., Neb., Ore., Tenn., Tex., Wis.

J. Adams 8

Idaho, Iowa, Miss., Neb., Ohio, Pa., Wash., Wis.

Garfield 6

Colo., Mont., Neb., Okla., Utah, Wash.

Van Buren 4

Ark., Iowa, Mich., Tenn.

W. H. Harrison 4

Ind., Iowa, Miss., Ohio

Taylor 4

Fla., Ga., Iowa, Ky.

Pierce 4

Ga., Neb., Wash., Wis.

J. Q. Adams 3

Ill., Ind., N.D.

Buchanan 3

Iowa, Mo., Va.

Tyler 2

Texas, W.Va.

Fillmore 2

Minn., Neb.

Cleveland 2

Ark., Okla.

T. Roosevelt 2
Mont., N.M.
Hayes 1
Neb.

McKinley 1
N.M.

B. Harrison 1
Ky.

Arthur 1
Neb.

Harding 1
N. M.

No counties have been named for Andrew Johnson, Taft, or Wilson, or for the Presidents following Harding.

THE PRESIDENTIAL MOUNTAIN RANGE

The Presidential Range of the White Mountains in New Hampshire includes a group of peaks named for Presidents: Mount Washington (6,288 feet), Mount Adams (5,798 feet), Mount Jefferson (5,715 feet), Mount Pierce (4,312 feet), and Mount Jackson (4,052 feet). Mount Quincy Adams, a spur of Mount Adams, is 5,470 feet.

OTHER MOUNTAINS NAMED FOR PRESIDENTS

There are two mountains named for Presidents in the Franconia Range in New York Hampshire: Mount Garfield (4,488 feet) and Mount Lincoln (5,108 feet). There is also a Mount Lincoln (4,013 feet) in Vermont.

Mount McKinley (20,320 feet; the highest peak in North America) and Mount Hayes (13,740 feet) are both in the Alaska Range.

Mount Cleveland (5,680 feet) in the Aleutian Islands is a live volcano, which last erupted in 1951.

The Lewis Range in Montana includes Mount Cleveland (10,448 feet) and Mount Jackson (10,003 feet).

Mount Adams (12, 307 feet) and Mount Jefferson (10,495 feet) are both in the Cascade Range, in Washington and Oregon, respectively.

There is a Mount Lincoln in the Park Range in Colorado (14,284 feet) and there are two peaks called Mount Grant in Nevada, one in the Clan Alpine Mountains (11,247 feet) and the other in the Wassuk Range (11,303 feet).

There is a Mount Jackson, formerly Mount Andrew Jackson, in Antarctica. It is 13,745 feet high.

Three mountains in Canada bear the names of U.S. Presidents: Mount Roosevelt (9,500 feet) in British Columbia, named for F. D. Roosevelt; Mount Eisenhower (9,400 feet) in Alberta, named for the General in 1946; and Mount Kennedy (13,095 feet) in the Yukon. Mount Kennedy was climbed for the first time in 1965, by a team that included the President's brother, Robert Francis Kennedy.

RIVERS NAMED FOR PRESIDENTS

The Jefferson River and the Madison River are located in Montana. They come together with the Gallatin River to form the Missouri.

The Rio Roosevelt, in the Amazon Basin in Brazil, was named for Theodore Roosevelt, who explored the area in 1914.

GENERAL STATISTICS

BIRTHS

8 of 40 were born in Virginia

19 of 40 were born in New York, Ohio, or Virginia

1 of 40 was born in a hospital

5 of 40 were born in November

PARENTS AND ANCESTORS OF THE PRESIDENTS

18 of 40 were of English or part English ancentry

21 of 40 had fathers who were farmers or planters

4 of 40 had fathers who were lawyers

3 of 40 had fathers who were ministers

3 of 40 had fathers who were state governors

1 of 40 had a father who was a physician

2 of 40 were posthumous children

12 of 40 lost their fathers before they were 21

6 of 40 lost their fathers while in their teens

10 of 40 had fathers who married twice

2 of 40 were survived by their fathers

6 of 40 had fathers living at their inaugurations

1 of 40 had a father who was President

1 of 40 had a grandfather who was President

1 of 40 had a father who was a U.S. Senator

3 of 40 were survived by their mothers

12 of 40 had mothers living at their inaugurations

2 of 40 had both parents living at their inaugurations

SIBLINGS OF THE PRESIDENTS

7 of 40 had 9 or more brothers and sisters

14 of 40 had 8 or more brothers and sisters

16 of 40 had 7 or more brothers and sisters

18 of 40 had 6 or more brothers and sisters

19 of 40 had 5 or more brothers and sisters

12 of 40 were the first-born in their families

5 of 40 were the second-born
families

7 of 40 were the second-bor
their families

16 of 40 were the first-born s

31 of 40 had sisters

2 of 40 were the only children
riages

MARRIAGES AND WIVES C
PRESIDENTS

39 of 40 Presidents married

6 of 40 Presidents married w

4 of 40 Presidents married di

2 of 40 married on their birtl

4 of 40 Presidents celebrated
versaries

5 of 40 Presidents were wido
inaugurated

3 of 40 Presidents were wido

1 of 40 Presidents was divorc

6 of 40 Presidents remarried

1 of 45 wives was not born ir

21 of 45 wives were born in N
ginia

10 of 45 wives were college g

6 of 45 wives were older than

4 of 45 wives had children by

16 of 36 wives lived to be ov

11 of 36 wives lived to be ov

10 of 36 wives died in Washi

CHILDREN OF THE PRESID

6 of 40 were childless

6 of 34 had no daughters

5 of 34 had no sons

1 of 34 had fifteen children

1 of 34 had a son who becam

2 of 34 had sons who became

5 of 34 had sons who became

1 of 34 had a son who served ir
gress

DEATHS OF THE PRESIDEN

5 of 40 are living (1989)

17 of 35 lived to be over 70

Gus Hall of New York, presidential nominee of the Communist Party in 1972, 1976, and 1980, was jailed for 90 days in 1940 for election irregularities in an Ohio race. On trial for conspiring to teach the violent overthrow of the U.S. government, he was jailed for contempt of court from May 1947 to October 1949; found guilty October 14, 1949, he was imprisoned from October 8, 1951, to March 30, 1957.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE KILLED IN ATTEMPT TO RESCUE DROWNING BOY

Frank T. Johns, of Portland, Ore., Socialist Labor presidential candidate in 1924 and 1928, was campaigning at Bend, Ore., on the bank of the Deschutes River, on May 21 1928, when his speech was interrupted by a cry for help. Charles Rhodes, an eleven-year-old, was being drawn into deep water about seventy-five feet from the shore. Johns rushed to the boy's rescue and brought him to about ten feet from the shore when he collapsed and they both drowned. Johns was thirty-nine years of age.

To fill the vacancy caused by the death of Johns, the party nominated Verne L. Reynolds.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE ASSASSINATED

Senator Robert Francis Kennedy of New York was assassinated by Sirhan Bishara Sirhan on June 5, 1968, at the Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif., while campaigning for the Democratic presidential nomination. He died June 6, 1968.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES WOUNDED

While campaigning for the presidency on the Progressive or "Bull Moose" ticket, Theodore Roosevelt was shot in the chest, at about 8 P.M. on October 14, 1912, in Milwaukee, Wis. He was scheduled to deliver a speech that evening and he did deliver it, in spite of the wound.

Governor George Corley Wallace of Alabama was shot on May 15, 1972, in Laurel, Md., while campaigning for the Democratic presidential nomination. He was partially paralyzed as a result.

PROVISIONS FOR DEATH OF CANDIDATE OR PRESIDENT-ELECT

If a presidential nominee should die before election day, his party would select a new candidate in his place. It could be anyone and would not necessarily be the vice presidential nominee. The Democrats require the choice to be made by the Democratic National Commitee, each state having the same number of votes. The person with the majority would be nominated for the presidency. The Republicans allow the choice to be made either by the Republican National Committee (the committee members having the same number of votes as their states at the national convention) or by another convention if time permits.

If the President-elect should die after election day but before the meeting of the electoral college, the electors could vote as they desire. They are not obliged to select the Vice President-elect. If both President-elect and Vice President-elect should die, the electoral college could choose any two persons for the offices, with or without the consent of the political party.

If the President-elect should die after receiving the votes of the electoral college, the Vice President would be sworn in as President. If both the President and the Vice President should die, the rule of succession would be invoked: the Speaker of the House, the president pro tempore of the Senate, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and so forth.

DEATH OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE GREELEY

Only once in the history of the United States has a presidential candidate died shortly after an election. Horace Greeley of New York, the Liberal Republican and Democratic candidate defeated by Ulysses Simpson Grant in 1872, died on November 29, after election day but before the electoral college assembled. His death released his 66 electors; with complete freedom of choice, they voted as follows: 42 for Thomas Andrews Hendricks of Indiana, 18 for Benjamin Gratz Brown of Missouri (Greeley's vice presidential running mate), 2 for Charles J. Jenkins of Georgia, 1 for David Davis of Illinois, and 3 for the deceased Greeley. By resolution of the House, the votes for Greeley were not counted.

Before his nomination, Greeley had held one legislative office. Filling a vacancy in the House of Representatives, he had served as a Whig congressman from New York from December 4, 1848, to March 3, 1849. In 1872 the Democrats accepted him as their candidate with great reluctance. Greeley, an abolitionist and one of the founders of the Republican Party, had never voted the Democratic ticket. (Grant, on the other hand, the Republican nominee, had never voted the Republican ticket; it is believed that Grant had voted only once before—casting his ballot for the Democrat Buchanan in the election of 1856.)

Greeley was the object of much abuse during the campaign. In a letter dated November 5, 1872, he complained: "I have been so bitterly assailed that I hardly know whether I am running for the presidency or the penitentiary." He was physically and mentally exhausted by the campaign, and lived only three weeks after his defeat.

DEATH OF DEFEATED PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

In 1940 the Republicans nominated Wendell Lewis Willkie for the presidency and Charles Linza McNary for the vice presidency at the twenty-second Republican convention held in Philadelphia, Pa., June 24–28. Both died before January 19, 1945, the last day of the term for which they sought election. Had they been elected, the United States would have been without a President and a Vice President for part of the term and the Speaker of the House of Representatives would have headed the country. McNary died February 25, 1944, at the age of 69 years and 258 days; Willkie died October 8, 1944, at the age of 52 years and 232 days.

THE PRESIDENTIAL VETO

Article I, section 7 of the Constitution contains the following provisions:

> Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. . . . If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which case it shall not be a Law. Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

The Constitution thus provides not only for a regular veto, which Congress may override by a two-thirds majority of both Houses, but also for a "pocket veto"—if the President opposes a bill sent to him ten days before the adjournment of Congress, he can, instead of vetoing it, merely ignore it, or "pocket" it, and prevent it from becoming a law.

The following list shows the number of bills vetoed by each President. Noted in parenthesis after each total are the figures comprising the total: first, the number of regular vetoes; second, the number of pocket vetoes; third, the number of vetoes sustained by Congress; and fourth, the number passed over his veto.

WASHINGTON 2 (2, 0; 2, 0)

J. ADAMS 0

JEFFERSON 0

MADISON 7 (5, 2; 7, 0)

MONROE 1 (1, 0; 1, 0)

J.Q. ADAMS 0

JACKSON 12 (5, 7; 12, 0)

VAN BUREN 0

W.H. HARRISON 0

TYLER 10 (6, 4; 9, 1)

POLK 3 (2, 1; 3, 0)

TAYLOR 0

FILLMORE 0

PIERCE 9 (9, 0; 4, 5)

BUCHANAN 7 (4, 3; 7, 0)

LINCOLN 6 (2, 4; 6, 0)

A. JOHNSON 28 (21, 7; 13, 15)

GRANT 92 (44, 48; 88, 4)

HAYES 13 (12, 1; 12, 1)

GARFIELD 0

ARTHUR 12 (4, 8; 11, 1)

CLEVELAND (FIRST TERM) 414 (304, 110; 412, 2)

B. HARRISON 44 (19, 25; 43, 1)

CLEVELAND (SECOND TERM) 170, (42, 128; 165, 5)

MCKINLEY 42 (6, 36; 42, 0)

T. ROOSEVELT 82 (42, 40; 81, 1)

TAFT 39 (30, 9; 38, 1)

WILSON 44 (33, 11; 38, 6)

HARDING 6 (5, 1; 6, 0)

COOLIDGE 50 (20, 30; 46, 4)

HOOVER 37 (21, 16; 34, 3)

F.D. ROOSEVELT 635 (372, 263; 626, 9)

TRUMAN 250 (180, 70; 238, 12)

EISENHOWER 181 (73, 108; 179, 2)

KENNEDY 21 (12, 9; 21, 0)

L.B. JOHNSON 30 (16, 14; 30, 0)

NIXON 42 (24, 18; 36, 6)

FORD 66 (48, 18; 54, 12)

CARTER 29 (13, 16; 27, 2)

REAGAN 78 (39, 39, 69, 9)

TOTAL 2,385 (1,377, 1,008; 2,291, 94)

The first veto occurred on April 5, 1792, when Washington rejected a new plan of apportionment on the grounds that it violated the provisions of the Constitution. The pocket veto was first used by James Madison, in 1812, against House of Representatives bill 170, on a uniform rule of naturalization.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt holds the record for having vetoed the greatest number of bills—635—but this embraced a twelve-year period. During a two-term period, Grover Cleveland vetoed 584 bills.

The President who had the largest number of vetoes overridden—15—was Andrew Johnson.

PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL SALARIES

Article II, section 1 of the Constitution contains the following provision:

> The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

The First Congress fixed t
of the United States at $25,0(
terly, in full consideration f
with the use of the furniture
his possession. This act of Se
L. 72) also fixed the salary of
000 a year.

The act of March 3, 1873 (
salary of the President to $5(
President to $10,000. The la
the new term which follow
quently, President Grant serv
ry of $25,000 and his second

The act of June 23, 1906 (3
an additional sum not exceed
eling expenses of the Presid
propriated to be expended
President and accounted for

The act of March 4, 1909 (
salary of the President to $
Vice President was raised to
ruary 26, 1907 (34 Stat. L. 9
receive $75,000 was Taft.

The act of June 25, 1948, (
the President's traveling exp

The act of January 19, 194
the rates of compensation o
President and the Speaker of
tives. The act authorized a sa
the President, to be paid mo
expense allowance of $50,0(
fraying expenses relating to
charge of his official dut
allowance no tax liability sha
accounting shall be made b
first President to receive the

An act approved October
pense allowances to income

The act of January 17, 19(
January 20, 1969, raised the
$200,000 taxable. The Presic
$100,000 travel allowance
ment allowance, both tax ex
$50,000 expense allowance.
first President to receive the

In recent years, the salary
more than tripled.

The act of January 19, 194
that the vice President's sala
000 to $30,000, plus an expe
for which no tax liability sha
made.

The act of March 2, 1955
as of March 1, 1955, "to adju
United States courts, United
bers of Congress, and for o
the salary of the Vice Presid
000.

The Federal Employees S
14, 1964 (78 Stat. L. 422), ra
salary to $43,000.

The act of September 14
raised the Vice-President's sa
500.

The Vice President now re
and an allowance of $10,00(
of this is taxable.

THE PRESIDENT'S FLAG

Before 1916 several Presidents had flags, but these were not official and were really nothing but emblems.

The official President's flag—the President's seal in bronze upon a blue background with a large white star in each corner—was adopted on May 29, 1916, by President Wilson's executive order No. 2,390.

President Truman, by executive order No. 9,646, dated Octoer 25, 1945, made several further changes and increased the number of stars to forty-eight, one for each state.

President Eisenhower's executive order No. 10,798, dated January 3, 1959, increased the number of stars on the flag to 49 to provide for Alaska. On August 21, 1959, the President revoked this order and increased the number of stars to 50 to provide for Hawaii (executive order No. 10,834).

SALUTE TO THE PRESIDENT

The President is customarily honored with a twenty-one-gun salute. The twenty-one-gun salute is given also to former Presidents, sovereigns, members of a royal family, and Presidents of other republics. It is claimed that the twenty-one-gun salute commemorates the year 1776, and for that reason salutes are often fired thus: one-seven-seven six.

THE PRESIDENTIAL YACHTS

The gunboat U.S.S. *Mayflower* (length, 275 feet; beam 36 feet; draft 17 feet; displacement, 2,690 tons) was assigned to duty as the President's yacht in 1902. She was built at Clydebank, Scotland, in 1896 for Ogden Goelet and was purchased for $1,250,000 by the United States. She was used in 1898 in war service in Cuba. The yacht was used by presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Harding, and Coolidge until March 22, 1929. President Hoover ordered her to be laid up in the interest of economy. She caught fire and sank on January 24, 1931, at League Island Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pa. The hulk was sold October 19, 1931.

Other U.S. naval vessels used by Presidents were the U.S.S. *Despatch, Dolphin* and *Sylph.*

The yachts used by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt were the U.S.S. *Sequoia* in 1933 and 1935, the U.S.S. *Potomac* in 1936, and the U.S.S. *Williamsburg* in 1945. The *Sequoia* was sold by President Carter.

Several Presidents have used a 64-foot cabin cruiser, which was built in 1940, acquired by the Coast Guard, and then transferred to the Navy. It had been called the *Dollar* and the *Margie.* President Truman renamed it the *Margaret T.,* President Eisenhower renamed it the *Susan Elaine,* President Kennedy renamed it the *Patrick J.* (for his grandfather), and President Nixon renamed it the *Julie.* It was offered for sale at $65,000 in 1969, and as there were no buyers, it was decommissioned April 28, 1970.

President Reagan did not use a yacht.

TERMS OF OFFICE

Twenty-one Presidents served no more than one term.

Eleven Presidents served one full four-year term: John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Van Buren, Polk, Pierce, Buchanan, Hayes, Benjamin Harrison, Taft, Hoover, and Carter.

Ten Presidents served less than one full term. Five died during their first term: William Henry Harrison, Taylor, Garfield, Harding, and Kennedy. Five succeeded to the presidency, filled the unexpired portion of a term, and were not subsequently elected in their own right: Tyler, Fillmore, Andrew Johnson, Arthur, and Ford.

Eighteen Presidents served more than one term.

One—Franklin Delano Roosevelt—served three terms and part of a fourth.

Ten served two full terms: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Grant, Cleveland (nonconsecutive), Wilson, Eisenhower, and Reagan.

Three began a second term but did not complete it: Lincoln, McKinley, and Nixon.

Four succeeded to the presidency, filled the unexpired portion of a term, and were then elected to a full term: Theodore Roosevelt, Coolidge, Truman, and Lyndon Baines Johnson.

The following list shows the length of service of *past* Presidents:

W.H. HARRISON 32 days

GARFIELD 199 days

TAYLOR 1 year, 128 days

HARDING 2 years, 151 days

FORD 2 years, 164 days

FILLMORE 2 years, 236 days

KENNEDY 2 years, 306 days

ARTHUR 3 years, 166 days

A. JOHNSON 3 years, 322 days

TYLER 3 years, 332 days

J. ADAMS 4 years

J.Q. ADAMS 4 years

VAN BUREN 4 years

POLK 4 years

PIERCE 4 years

BUCHANAN 4 years

HAYES 4 years

B. HARRISON 4 years

TAFT 4 years

HOOVER 4 years

CARTER 4 years

LINCOLN 4 years, 43 days

MCKINLEY 4 years, 194 days

L.B. JOHNSON 5 years, 59 days

NIXON 5 years, 201 days

COOLIDGE 5 years, 213 days

CABINET OFFICERS WHO SERVED IN TWO OR MORE POSITIONS—*Continued*

Bush

James Addison Baker 3rd—State, 1989; Treasury, 1985 (appointed by Reagan)

Elizabeth Hanford Dole—Labor, 1989; Transportation, 1983 (appointed by Reagan)

CABINET OFFICERS WHO WON THE NOBEL PRIZE

Five Secretaries of State have been awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Senator Elihu Root was awarded the prize in 1912. As Secretary of State under Theodore Roosevelt, Root had greatly improved U. S. relations with Latin America, Japan, and Canada.

Frank Billings Kellogg, who served under Calvin Coolidge, received the Peace Prize in 1929, for his work on the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State under Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1945. Hull formulated the Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America and played a major role in the founding of the United Nations.

George Catlett Marshall, Secretary of State and of Defense under Harry S. Truman, was the author of the Marshall Plan for European recovery after World War II. He received the Nobel Prize in 1953.

Henry Alfred Kissinger, Secretary of State under Richard Milhous Nixon, was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1973 for his work in negotiating a settlement of the Vietnam War. Le Duc Tho of North Vietnam was named as joint recipient but declined.

Other government officials who won the Nobel Prize for Peace were: President Theodore Roosevelt (1906), President Woodrow Wilson (1919), and Vice President Charles Gates Dawes (1925, jointly with Sir Austen Chamberlain of Britain). Ralph Johnson Bunche, a former State Department officer, received the prize in 1950 for his work with the United Nations.

TENURE OF POSTMASTER GENERAL

The only cabinet member not appointed for an indefinite term was the Postmaster General. The act of June 8, 1872 (17 Stat. L. 284) provided that the term and office of the Postmaster General should be for and during the term of the President by whom he was appointed, and for one month thereafter unless sooner removed.

On July 1, 1971, the cabinet position of Postmaster General was abolished. Winton Malcolm Blount was the last man to hold the post.

FIRST WOMAN IN CABINET POST

The first woman member of a cabinet was Frances Perkins (Mrs. Paul Wilson), who was appointed Secretary of Labor by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. She served from March 4, 1933, to June 30, 1945. She had been Industrial Commissioner for New York prior to this appointment.

FIRST SENATE REJECTION OF CABINET APPOINTEE

The first cabinet appointee rejected by the Senate was Roger Brooke Taney of Maryland, nominated by President Andrew Jackson on June 24, 1834, as Secretary of the Treasury.

LONGEST CABINET SERVICE

The cabinet officer with the longest tenure of office was James Wilson of Iowa, who took office March 5, 1897, as Secretary of Agriculture during President McKinley's first administration. He remained in office through McKinley's first and second administrations, through Theodore Roosevelt's two administrations, and through William Howard Taft's administration, serving until March 6, 1913, when Woodrow Wilson replaced him with David Franklin Houston. Wilson served one day longer than sixteen years.

WALLACE FAMILY IN CABINET POSTS

Henry Agard Wallace was a cabinet member before and after his term as Vice President. Prior to his term as Vice President under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (January 20, 1941–January 19, 1945), he had served as Secretary of Agriculture (March 4, 1933–September 2, 1940). After his vice presidential term, he served as Secretary of Commerce under Roosevelt and Truman (March 2, 1945–September 27, 1946).

His father, Henry Cantwell Wallace, was Secretary of Agriculture under Presidents Harding and Coolidge, serving from March 5, 1921, to his death on October 25, 1924.

SUPREME COURT APPOINTMENTS

Between 1789 and 1989, one hundred and four men and women were appointed to and served on the Supreme Court of the United States.

The total number of appointments made by the Presidents, however, is 108. Charles Evans Hughes was appointed twice—once by Taft and once by Hoover—and three Associate Justices, Edward Douglass White, Harlan Fiske Stone, and William Hubbs were elevated to Chief Justice.

Washington appointed the largest number—ten—followed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who made nine appointments during his four terms.

William Henry Harrison, Taylor, Andrew Johnson, and Carter did not make any appointments.

Ten presidents made one appointment each: Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Tyler, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, Garfield, McKinley, Coolidge, and Ford. Two each were made by Madison, Polk, Hayes, Arthur, Kennedy, and Lyndon Baines Johnson, and Reagan.

Three each were made by John Adams, Jefferson, Van Buren, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, and Hoover.

Four appointments apiece were made by Grant, Cleveland, Benjamin Harrison, Harrison, Harding, Truman, Nixon, and Reagan.

Jackson, Lincoln, and Eisenhower each made five appointments, and Taft made six.

Many presidents made appointments that were not confirmed. Only justices who were seated on the Court are counted above.

PRESIDENTIAL AND CON POLITICS

The following list shows th each presidential administrat each party in Congress during breviations: D–Democrati Republican; F—Federalist; I can; Op—Opposition; R—Re

Washington

Administration—Federalis

1st Congress (1789–1791)

Senate—F 17; Op 3

House—F 38; Op 36

2nd Congress (1791–1793)

Senate—F 16; DR 13

House—DR 38; F 37

3rd Congress (1793–1795)

Senate—F 17; DR 13

House—DR 57; F 45

4th Congress (1795–1797)

Senate—F 19; DR 13

House—F 54; DR 52

J. Adams

Administration—Federalis

5th Congress (1797–1799)

Senate—F 20; DR 12

House—F 58; DR 48

6th Congress (1799–1801)

Senate—F 19; DR 13

House—F 64; DR 42

Jefferson

Administration—Democra

7th Congress (1801–1803)

Senate—DR 18; F 14

House—DR 69; F 36

8th Congress (1803–1805)

Senate—DR 25; F 9

House—DR 102; F 39

9th Congress (1805–1807)

Senate—DR 27; F 7

House—DR 116; F 25

10th Congress (1807–1809)

Senate—DR 28; F 6

House—DR 118; F 24

Madison

Administration—Democra

11th Congress (1809–1811)

Senate—DR 28; F 6

House—DR 94; F 48

House—R 152; D 130; others 11

Arthur
Administration—Republican

48th Congress (1883–1885)

Senate—R 40; D 36
House—D 200; R 119; others 6

Cleveland
Administration—Democratic

49th Congress (1885–1887)

Senate—R 41; D 34; vacant 1
House—D 182; R 140; others 2; vacant 1

50th Congress (1887–1889)

Senate—R 39; D 37
House—D 170; R 151; others 4

B. Harrison
Administration—Republican

51st Congress (1889–1891)

Senate—R 47; D 37
House—R 173; D 156; others 1

52nd Congress (1891–1893)

Senate—R 47; D 39; others 2
House—D 231; R 88; others 14

Cleveland
Administration—Democratic

53rd Congress (1893–1895)

Senate—D 44; R 38; others 3; vacant 3
House—D 220; R 126; others 8

54th Congress (1895–1897)

Senate—R 44; D 39; others 5
House—R 246; D 104; others 7

McKinley
Administration—Republican

55th Congress (1897–1899)

Senate—R 46; D 34; others 10
House—R 206; D 134; others 16; vacant 1

56th Congress (1899–1901)

Senate—R 53; D 26; others 11
House—R 185; D 163; others 9

McKinley (and Roosevelt)
Administration—Republican

57th Congress (1901–1903)

Senate—R 56; D 29; others 3; vacant 2
House—R 198; D 153; others 5; vacant 1

T. Roosevelt
Administration—Republican

58th Congress (1903–1905)

Senate—R 58; D 32
House—R 207; D 178; vacant 1

59th Congress (1905–1907)

Senate—R 58; D 32
House—R 250; D 136

60th Congress (1907–1909)

Senate—R 61; D 29; vacant 2
House—R 222; D 164

Taft
Administration—Republican

61st Congress (1909–1911)

Senate—R 59; D 32; vacant 1
House—R 219; D 172

62nd Congress (1911–1913)

Senate—R 49; D 42; vacant 1
House—D 228; R 162; others 1

Wilson
Administration—Democratic

63rd Congress (1913–1915)

Senate—D 51; R 44; others 1
House—D 290; R 127; others 18

64th Congress (1915–1917)

Senate—D 56; R 39; others 1
House—D 231; R 193; others 8, vacant 3

65th Congress (1917–1919)

Senate—D 53; R 42; others 1
House—R 216; D 210; others 9

66th Congress (1919–1921)

Senate—R 48; D 47; others 1
House—R 237; D 191; others 7

Harding
Administration—Republican

67th Congress (1921–1923)

Senate—R 59; D 37
House—R 300; D 132; others 1; vacant 2

Coolidge
Administration—Republican

68th Congress (1923–1925)

Senate—R 51; D 43; others 2
House—R 225; D 207; others 3

69th Congress (1925–1927)

Senate—R 54; D 40; others 1; vacant 1
House—R 247; D 183; others 5

70th Congress (1927–1929)

Senate—R 48; D 47; others 1
House—R 237; D 195; others 3

Hoover
Administration—Republican

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THE BULLY PULPIT

Quotations from America's Presidents

Edited by
Elizabeth Frost

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INTRODUCTION

"The White House is a bully pulpit," said Theodore Roosevelt to George Putnam. Indeed, from George Washington to Ronald Reagan, America's thirty-nine presidents have used their office to speak out on every conceivable subject. Their statements have been wise and foolish, profound and shallow, momentous and trivial, solemn and irreverent, eloquent and tongue-tied, generous and malicious, witty and ponderous. Many of them still resonate, such as Thomas Jefferson's famous tribute to truth: "It is error alone which needs the support of government. Truth can stand by itself." Some have become the clichés of election campaigns, for instance, Richard Nixon's plea: "It is time for the great silent majority of Americans to stand up and be counted." Still others were quickly forgotten but deserve resurrection, as with James Buchanan's remark about Congress: "Abstract propositions should never be discussed by a legislative body."

The Bully Pulpit is a collection of approximately 3,000 of the most significant and interesting quotations by America's presidents. While the book contains most of the more well-known statements, a majority are less familiar. Yet these are often the more revealing ones, best expressing the personalities and opinions of the men themselves. Woodrow Wilson's sense of irony, for instance, is clearly reflected in this wry observation on the failing campaign of his opponent, Governor Charles Evans Hughes: "Never murder a man who is committing suicide." *The Bully Pulpit* then, is neither hagiographic nor muckraking in purpose. Rather, quotations have been included on the basis of their historic significance, intrinsic human interest, and colorful or eloquent language.

In 1986, when I began this volume, I visualized *The Bully Pulpit* as a compilation of the most memorable statements made by presidents during their White House years. But, as my research progressed, it became clear that many of their best observations fell outside this period. Either the fire of a campaign, the privacy of a long-kept diary, or the reflection and perspective associated with retirement gave rise to eloquent commentary that could not be left out of this book. Therefore, while I have tried to focus on the presidential years, I have also included apt quotations from earlier, or later, dates.

Some readers may wonder to what extent the words of presidents were, in fact, their own. Actually, most were. The early presidents prided themselves on writing their own speeches (although Alexander Hamilton may have helped George Washington with his farewell address). Not until Warren G. Harding, himself a newspaper editor, hired Judson Welliver as his "literary clerk," did an American president have a formal speech writer. And only after World War II did elected officials have the money and large staffs necessary to accommodate full-time speech writers.

But ghosted or not, the words of American presidents record the political and social history of the country itself. Their words trace great themes in American history, reflect the changing beliefs of the American people, and articulate the best and the worst in the American spirit. Some, such as those about Congress or the presidency itself, reveal how American government and politics really work. (Who can resist Thomas Jefferson's skewering of Congress: "That 150 lawyers should do business together ought not to be expected"?) And a great many skillfully articulate the core principles of American democracy.

The words of the chief executives also vividly reflect their personalities. No president was as combative as Theodore Roosevelt, who, in 1911, proudly

The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

George Washington
Farewell address
September 17, 1796

Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will be America's heart, her benedictions and her prayers. But she does not go abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own.

John Quincy Adams
Address
July 4, 1821

As a nation of free men, we must live through all time, or die by suicide.

Abraham Lincoln
Speech, Springfield, Illinois, on U.S. freedom from external threat
January 27, 1838

The stars upon your banner have become nearly threefold their original number; your densely populated possessions skirt the shores of the two great oceans.

Franklin Pierce
Inaugural address
March 4, 1853

A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability. Laws change, people die; the land remains.

Abraham Lincoln
Message, Congress
December 1, 1862

Tallyrand once said to the first Napoleon that "the United States is a giant without bones." Since that time our gristle has been rapidly hardening.

James A. Garfield
Speech
July 2, 1873

Have you not learned that not stocks or bonds or stately homes, or products of mill or field are our country? It is the splendid thought that is in our minds.

Benjamin Harrison
Cited in Clifton Fadiman, *The American Treasury*

The Yankee intermingles with the Illinoisian, the Hoosier with the Sucker, and the people of the South with them all; and it is this commingling which gives that unity which marks the American nation.

Benjamin Harrison
Speech, San Diego, California
April 23, 1891

The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame.

Theodore Roosevelt
First annual message, Congress
December 3, 1901

From the beginning our people have markedly combined practical capacity for affairs with power of devotion to an ideal. The lack of either quality would have rendered the possession of the other of small value.

Theodore Roosevelt
Speech, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
November 22, 1902

Americanism is a question of principle, of purpose, of Idealism, or Character; it is not a matter of birthplace or creed or line of descent.

Theodore Roosevelt
Speech, Washington, D.C.
1909

America is not a mere bo
a body of free men. Our
upon our freedom—is m
We have a great ardor for
a deep passion for the r

Woodrow Wilson
Speech, New York, New York
January 29, 1911

The things that will des
prosperity-at-any-pric
price, safety-first instead
love of soft living and t
theory of life.

Theodore Roosevelt
Letter, S. S. Menken
January 10, 1917

Some people call me an
is the way I know I a
America is the only ide
world.

Woodrow Wilson
Speech, Sioux Falls, South Da
September 8, 1919

This country would
opportunity, Americ
America, if the people w
government monopolie

Calvin Coolidge
Speech
August 14, 1924

This generation of A
rendezvous with destin

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Acceptance speech, renomi
Philadelphia, Pennsylvani
June 27, 1936

The overwhelming maj
are possessed of two
sense of humor and a se

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Speech, Savannah, Georgia
November 18, 1945

America was not built
was built on courage, o
an unbeatable determin
at hand.

Harry S. Truman
Special message, Congress
January 8, 1947

If our power over means is so absolute that the Supreme Court will not call into question an act of Congress . . . it becomes to us to proceed in our legislation with the utmost caution.

Andrew Jackson
Veto, Bank Bill
July 10, 1832

If he [the president] speaks to Congress, it must be in the language of truth.

Andrew Jackson
Letter, Martin Van Buren
October 27, 1834

When I was a member of either House of Congress I acted under the conviction that to *doubt* as to the constitutionality of a law was sufficient to induce me to give my vote against it; but I have not been able to bring myself to believe that a *doubtful opinion* of the Chief Magistrate ought to outweigh the solemnly pronounced opinion of the representatives of the people and of the States.

John Tyler
Message, Congress
June 25, 1842

There is more selfishness and less principle among members of Congress . . . than I had any conception of, before I became President of the U.S.

James K. Polk
The Diary of James K. Polk
December 16, 1846

Abstract propositions should never be discussed by a legislative body.

James Buchanan
Comment
c. 1844

That one hundred and fifty lawyers should do business together ought not to be expected.

Thomas Jefferson
Autobiography
1853

In a body where there are more than one hundred talking lawyers, you can make no calculation upon the termination of any debate and frequently, the more trifling the subject, the more animated and protracted the discussion.

Franklin Pierce
Cited in Bill Adler, *Presidential Wit from Washington to Johnson*

Congress does from a third to a half of what I think is the minimum that it ought to do, and I am profoundly grateful that I get as much.

Theodore Roosevelt
Comment, Leonard Wood
December 1904

I have a very strong feeling that it is a President's duty to get on with Congress if he possibly can, and that it is a reflection upon him if he and Congress come to a complete break.

Theodore Roosevelt
Letter, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.
January 31, 1909

There is a well-known aphorism that men are different, but all husbands are alike. The same idea may be paraphrased with respect to Congressmen. Congressmen are different, but when in opposition to an administration they are very much alike in their attitude and in their speeches.

William Howard Taft
The President and His Powers
1916

No one has as good opportunity to know Senators and Congressmen as the President, because in asking the Presidential favor, the Senator or Congressman frequently bares his motives and discloses his inmost traits of character in the confidence and secrecy of the Executive Office. It is more or less an unconscious confessional.

William Howard Taft
The President and the Presidency
1916

If you see ten trou
road, you can be s
into the ditch befo
you have to battle

Calvin Coolidge
Herbert Hoover, *Memoi*
1920-1933

The President has
champion of the pe
solely responsible f
Congress where res
has developed that
danger of arbitrary

Calvin Coolidge
The Autobiography of C
1929

The Congress has s
trial to Presidents.

Calvin Coolidge
The Autobiography of C
1929

Nobody will deny th
Congress have been
stamp for the Execu
it themselves.

Herbert Hoover
Addresses upon the Ame
1933-1960

On the Congress of t
the primary responsi
of methods, but on t
responsibility o
objectives. This is in
Constitution.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Letter, Senator Alben Bar
July 15, 1937

If you tell Congress
world situation, they
tell them nothing, th

Harry S. Truman
Statement
July 17, 1950

Liberty does not make all men perfect nor all society secure. But it has provided more solid progress and happiness and decency for more people than any other philosophy of government in history.

Harry S. Truman
Radio address after the signing of the terms of unconditional surrender by Japan
September 1, 1945

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

John F. Kennedy
Inaugural address
January 20, 1961

Liberty without learning is always in peril and learning without liberty is always in vain.

John F. Kennedy
Speech, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee
May 1963

Life

Life is the art of avoiding pain.

Thomas Jefferson
Letter, Maria Cosway
October 12, 1786

A noble life, crowned with heroic death, rises above and outlives the pride and pomp and glory of the mightiest empire of the earth.

James A. Garfield
Speech, House of Representatives
December 9, 1858

I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life.

Theodore Roosevelt
Speech, Chicago, Illinois
April 10, 1899

Abraham Lincoln

Mr. Lincoln has come and gone. . . . He has been raising a respectable pair of dark-brown whiskers, which decidedly improve his looks, but no appendage can ever render him remarkable for beauty.

James A. Garfield
Letter, Mrs. Garfield
February 16, 1861

God gave us Lincoln and Liberty; let us fight for both.

Ulysses S. Grant
February 22, 1863

Whereas our country has become one great house of mourning, where the head of the family has been taken away . . . I recommend my fellow citizens then to assemble in their respective places of worship, there to unite in solemn service to Almighty God in memory of the good man who has been removed, so that all shall be occupied at the same time in contemplation of his virtues and in sorrow for his sudden and violent end.

Andrew Johnson
A Proclamation of Mourning
April 25, 1865

He always showed a generous and kindly spirit toward the Southern people, and I never heard him abuse an enemy.

Ulysses S. Grant
Personal Memoirs
1886

The civil war called for a president who had faith in time, for his country as well as himself; who could endure the impatience of others and abide his time.

Benjamin Harrison
Views of an Ex-President
1901

Lincoln was a very normal man with very normal gifts, but all upon a great scale, all knit together in loose and natural form, like the great frame in which he moved and dwelt.

Woodrow Wilson
Speech, Chicago, Illinois
February 2, 1909

I have not made an
Liberty Loan, becau
share any other qu
Lincoln, I do share
acquaintance with f

Theodore Roosevelt
Letter, Herbert Hoover
1917

THEODORE ROOSEVELT CYCLOPEDIA

EDITED BY

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor Emeritus, Harvard University

AND

HERBERT RONALD FERLEGER

Roosevelt Memorial Association

FOREWORD BY

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

ROOSEVELT HOUSE

NEW YORK CITY

————————. The conscientious objector who won't serve as a soldier or won't pay his taxes has no place in a republic like ours, and should be expelled from it, for no man who won't pull his weight in the boat has a right in the boat. The Society of Friends have come forward in this war just as gallantly as they came forward in the Civil War, and all true believers in peace will do well to follow their example. (*Metropolitan,* November 1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 276; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 255.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS—INSINCERITY OF. The peace people . . . include the men who conscientiously object to all participation in any war however brutal the opponents, and however vital triumph may be to us and to mankind. These persons are entitled to precisely the respect we give any other persons whose conscience makes them do what is bad. We have had in this country some conscientious polygamists. We now have some conscientious objectors to taking part in this war. Where both are equally conscientious, the former are, on the whole, not as bad as the latter. Of course, if these conscientious objectors are sincere they decline in private life to oppose violence or brutality or to take advantage of the courage and strength of those who do oppose violence and brutality. . . . They are utterly insincere unless they decline to take advantage of police protection from burglary or highway-robbery. Of course, if such a man is really conscientious he cannot profit or allow his family to profit in any way by the safety secured to him and them by others, by soldiers in time of war, by judges and policemen in time of peace; for the receiver is as bad as the thief. I hold that such an attitude is infamous; and it is just as infamous to refuse to serve the country in arms during this war. If a man's conscience bids him so to act, then his conscience is a fit subject for the student of morbid pathology. (At Minneapolis, Minn., September 28, 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 183; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 175.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS — TREATMENT OF. No American has the right to hold up his head if he has not sought with all his strength and ingenuity to get into this war. If a man is conscientious in not wanting to fight, I am equally conscientious in not wanting him to vote. The man who is not willing to fight for his country is not fit to work. I'd take him to the front anyway. I would not interfere with his conscience. If it does not permit him to shoot at the enemy, I would not make him shoot, but I would place him in a position where he would be shot at. I would put him at work digging kitchen sinks and doing other labor which would set other men of better fibre free for service which the unworthy manhood of the conscientious objector does not permit him to perform. (Speech of May 28, 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 502; Bishop II, 428.

————————. It is all wrong to permit conscientious objectors to remain in camp or military posts or to go back to their homes. They should be treated in one of three ways: First, demand of them military service, except the actual use of weapons with intent to kill, and if they refuse to render this service treat them as criminals and imprison them at hard labor; second, put them in labor battalions and send them to France behind the lines, where association with soldiers might have a missionary effect on them and cause them to forget their present base creed and rise to worthy levels in an atmosphere of self-sacrifice and of service and struggle for great ideals; third, if both of the above procedures are regarded as too drastic, intern them with alien enemies and send them permanently out of the country as soon as possible. (September 24, 1918.) *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star,* 221.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS. *See also* DRAFT; PACIFISM; PACIFIST; PREPAREDNESS.

CONSCRIPTION. *See* DRAFT; MILITARY SERVICE; MILITARY TRAINING.

CONSERVATION. When, at the beginning of my term of service as President, under the influence of Mr. Pinchot and Mr. Newell, I took up the cause of conservation, I was already fairly well awake to the need of social and industrial justice; and from the outset we had in view, not only the preservation of natural resources, but the prevention of monopoly in natural resources, so that they should inhere in the people as a whole. (*Outlook,* October 12, 1912.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 437; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 317.

————————. In utilizing and conserving the natural resources of the Nation, the one characteristic more essential than any other is foresight. Unfortunately, foresight is not usually characteristic of a young and vigorous people, and it is obviously not a marked characteristic of us in the United States. Yet assuredly it should be the growing nation with a future which takes the long look ahead; and no other nation is growing so rapidly as ours or has a future so full of promise. No other nation enjoys so wonderful a measure of present pros-

perity which can of right be treated as an earnest of future success, and for no other are the rewards of foresight so great, so certain, and so easily foretold. Yet hitherto as a Nation we have tended to live with an eye single to the present, and have permitted the reckless waste and destruction of much of our natural wealth.

The conservation of our natural resources and their proper use constitute the fundamental problem which underlies almost every other problem of our national life. Unless we maintain an adequate material basis for our civilization, we can not maintain the institutions in which we take so great and so just a pride; and to waste and destroy our natural resources means to undermine this material basis. (Before National Editorial Association. Jamestown, Va., June 10, 1907.) *Presidential Addresses and State Papers* VI, 1310-1311.

————. Optimism is a good characteristic, but if carried to an excess it becomes foolishness. We are prone to speak of the resources of this country as inexhaustible; this is not so. The mineral wealth of the country, the coal, iron, oil, gas, and the like, does not reproduce itself, and therefore is certain to be exhausted ultimately; and wastefulness in dealing with it to-day means that our descendants will feel the exhaustion a generation or two before they otherwise would. But there are certain other forms of waste which could be entirely stopped—the waste of soil by washing, for instance, which is among the most dangerous of all wastes now in progress in the United States, is easily preventable, so that this present enormous loss of fertility is entirely unnecessary. The preservation or replacement of the forests is one of the most important means of preventing this loss. (Seventh Annual Message, Washington, December 3, 1907.) *Mem. Ed.* XVII, 526; *Nat. Ed.* XV, 448.

————. There must be a sound moral standard on public matters; our public men must represent and respond to the aroused conscience of the people. . . . All the great natural resources which are vital to the welfare of the whole people should be kept either in the hands or under the full control of the whole people. This applies to coal, oil, timber, water power, natural gas. Either natural resources of the land should be kept in the hands of the people and their development and use allowed under leasing arrangements (or otherwise); or, where this is not possible, there should be strict governmental control over their use. *Outlook,* April 20, 1912, p. 853.

CONSERVATION

————. Conservation means development as much as it does protection. I recognize the right and duty of this generation to develop and use the natural resources of our land; but I do not recognize the right to waste them, or to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us. I ask nothing of the nation except that it so behave as each farmer here behaves with reference to his own children. That farmer is a poor creature who skins the land and leaves it worthless to his children. The farmer is a good farmer who, having enabled the land to support himself and to provide for the education of his children, leaves it to them a little better than he found it himself. I believe the same thing of a nation.

Moreover, I believe that the natural resources must be used for the benefit of all our people, and not monopolized for the benefit of the few, and here again is another case in which I am accused of taking a revolutionary attitude. People forget now that one hundred years ago there were public men of good character who advocated the nation selling its public lands in great quantities, so that the nation could get the most money out of it, and giving it to the men who could cultivate it for their own uses. We took the proper democratic ground that the land should be granted in small sections to the men who were actually to till it and live on it. Now, with the water-power, with the forests, with the mines, we are brought face to face with the fact that there are many people who will go with us in conserving the resources only if they are to be allowed to exploit them for their benefit. That is one of the fundamental reasons why the special interests should be driven out of politics. Of all the questions which can come before this nation, short of the actual preservation of its existence in a great war, there is none which compares in importance with the great central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us, and training them into a better race to inhabit the land and pass it on. Conservation is a great moral issue, for it involves the patriotic duty of insuring the safety and continuance of the nation. (At Osawatomie, Kan., August 31, 1910.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 22; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 15.

CONSERVATION—BASIS OF. We have become great because of the lavish use of our resources and we have just reason to be proud of our growth. But the time has come to inquire seriously what will happen when our forests are gone, when the coal, the iron, the oil, and the gas are exhausted, when the soils have been still further impoverished and washed into the streams, polluting the rivers, denuding the fields,

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generation. It is time
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shown by any prude
widely using the prop
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impossible. (1913.)
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U.S. President, 1901-1909 (Theodore Roosevelt)

MESSAGE

OF THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

COMMUNICATED TO THE

TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS

AT THE

BEGINNING OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTIETH CONGRESS

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1908

The courts hold a place of peculiar and deserved sanctity under our form of government. Respect for the law is essential to the permanence of our institutions; and respect for the law is largely conditioned upon respect for the courts. It is an offense against the Republic to say anything which can weaken this respect, save for the gravest reason and in the most carefully guarded manner. Our judges should be held in peculiar honor; and the duty of respectful and truthful comment and criticism, which should be binding when we speak of anybody, should be especially binding when we speak of them. On an average they stand above any other servants of the community, and the greatest judges have reached the high level held by those few greatest patriots whom the whole country delights to honor. But we must face the fact that there are wise and unwise judges, just as there are wise and unwise executives and legislators. When a president or a governor behaves improperly or unwisely, the remedy is easy, for his term is short; the same is true with the legislator, although not to the same degree, for he is one of many who belong to some given legislative body, and it is therefore less easy to fix his personal responsibility and hold him accountable therefor. With a judge, who, being human, is also likely to err, but whose tenure is for life, there is no similar way of holding him to responsibility. Under ordinary conditions the only forms of pressure to which he is in any way amenable are, public opinion, and the action of his fellow judges. It is the last which is most immediately effective, and to which we should look for the reform of abuses. Any remedy applied from without is fraught with risk. It is far better, from every standpoint, that the remedy should come from within. In no other nation in the world do the courts wield such vast and far-reaching power as in the United States. All that is necessary is that the courts as a whole should exercise this power with the farsighted wisdom already shown by those judges who scan the future while they act in the present. Let them exercise this great power not only honestly and bravely, but with wise insight into the needs and fixed purposes of the people, so that they may do justice, and work equity, so that they may protect all persons in their rights, and yet break down the barriers of privilege, which is the foe of right.

If there is any one duty which more than another we owe it to our children and our children's children to perform at once, it is to save the forests of this country, for they constitute the first and most important element in the conservation of the natural resources of the country. There are of course two kinds of natural

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resources. One is the kind which can only be used as part of a process of exhaustion; this is true of mines, natural oil and gas wells, and the like. The other, and of course ultimately by far the most important, includes the resources which can be improved in the process of wise use; the soil, the rivers, and the forests come under this head. Any really civilized nation will so use all of these three great national assets that the nation will have their benefit in the future. Just as a farmer, after all his life making his living from his farm, will, if he is an expert farmer, leave it as an asset of increased value to his son, so we should leave our national domain to our children, increased in value and not worn out. There are small sections of our own country, in the East and in the West, in the Adirondacks, the White Mountains, and the Appalachians, and in the Rocky Mountains, where we can already see for ourselves the damage in the shape of permanent injury to the soil and the river systems which comes from reckless deforestation. It matters not whether this deforestation is due to the actual reckless cutting of timber, to the fires that inevitably follow such reckless cutting of timber, or to reckless and uncontrolled grazing, especially by the great migratory bands of sheep, the unchecked wandering of which over the country means destruction to forests and disaster to the small home makers, the settlers of limited means.

Forests.

Shortsighted persons, or persons blinded to the future by desire to make money in every way out of the present, sometimes speak as if no great damage would be done by the reckless destruction of our forests. It is difficult to have patience with the arguments of these persons. Thanks to our own recklessness in the use of our splendid forests, we have already crossed the verge of a timber famine in this country, and no measures that we now take can, at least for many years, undo the mischief that has already been done. But we can prevent further mischief being done; and it would be in the highest degree reprehensible to let any consideration of temporary convenience or temporary cost interfere with such action, especially as regards the National Forests which the nation can *now*, at this very moment, control.

All serious students of the question are aware of the great damage that has been done in the Mediterranean countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa by deforestation. The similar damage that has been done in Eastern Asia is less well known. A recent investigation into conditions in North China by Mr. Frank N. Meyer, of the Bureau of Plant Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture,

has incidentally furnished in very striking fashion proof of the ruin that comes from reckless deforestation of mountains, and of the further fact that the damage once done may prove practically irreparable. So important are these investigations that I herewith attach as an appendix to my message certain photographs showing present conditions in China. They show in vivid fashion the appalling desolation, taking the shape of barren mountains and gravel- and sand-covered plains, which immediately follows and depends upon the deforestation of the mountains. Not many centuries ago the country of northern China was one of the most fertile and beautiful spots in the entire world, and was heavily forested. We know this not only from the old Chinese records, but from the accounts given by the traveler, Marco Polo. He, for instance, mentions that in visiting the provinces of Shansi and Shensi he observed many plantations of mulberry trees. Now there is hardly a single mulberry tree in either of these provinces, and the culture of the silkworm has moved farther south, to regions of atmospheric moisture. As an illustration of the complete change in the rivers, we may take Polo's statement that a certain river, the Hun Ho, was so large and deep that merchants ascended it from the sea with heavily laden boats; today this river is simply a broad sandy bed, with shallow, rapid currents wandering hither and thither across it, absolutely unnavigable. But we do not have to depend upon written records. The dry wells, and the wells with water far below the former watermark, bear testimony to the good days of the past and the evil days of the present. Wherever the native vegetation has been allowed to remain, as, for instance, here and there around a sacred temple or imperial burying ground, there are still huge trees and tangled jungle, fragments of the glorious ancient forests. The thick, matted forest growth formerly covered the mountains to their summits. All natural factors favored this dense forest growth, and as long as it was permitted to exist, the plains at the foot of the mountains were among the most fertile on the globe, and the whole country was a garden. Not the slightest effort was made, however, to prevent the unchecked cutting of the trees, or to secure reforestation. Doubtless for many centuries the tree-cutting by the inhabitants of the mountains worked but slowly in bringing about the changes that have now come to pass; doubtless for generations the inroads were scarcely noticeable. But there came a time when the forest had shrunk sufficiently to make each year's cutting a serious matter, and from that time on the destruction proceeded with

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appalling rapidity; for of course each year of destruction rendered the forest less able to recuperate, less able to resist next year's inroad. Mr. Meyer describes the ceaseless progress of the destruction even now, when there is so little left to destroy. Every morning men and boys go out armed with mattox or axe, scale the steepest mountain sides, and cut down and grub out, root and branch, the small trees and shrubs still to be found. The big trees disappeared centuries ago, so that now one of these is never seen save in the neighborhood of temples, where they are artificially protected; and even here it takes all the watch and care of the tree-loving priests to prevent their destruction. Each family, each community, where there is no common care exercised in the interest of all of them to prevent deforestation, finds its profit in the immediate use of the fuel which would otherwise be used by some other family or some other community. In the total absence of regulation of the matter in the interest of the whole people, each small group is inevitably pushed into a policy of destruction which can not afford to take thought for the morrow. This is just one of those matters which it is fatal to leave to unsupervised individual control. The forests can only be protected by the State, by the Nation; and the liberty of action of individuals must be conditioned upon what the State or Nation determines to be necessary for the common safety.

The lesson of deforestation in China is a lesson which mankind should have learned many times already from what has occurred in other places. Denudation leaves naked soil; then gullying cuts down to the bare rock; and meanwhile the rock-waste buries the bottomlands. When the soil is gone, men must go; and the process does not take long.

This ruthless destruction of the forests in northern China has brought about, or has aided in bringing about, desolation, just as the destruction of the forests in central Asia aid in bringing ruin to the once rich central Asian cities; just as the destruction of the forests in northern Africa helped towards the ruin of a region that was a fertile granary in Roman days. Shortsighted man, whether barbaric, semi-civilized, or what he mistakenly regards as fully civilized, when he has destroyed the forests, has rendered certain the ultimate destruction of the land itself. In northern China the mountains are now such as are shown by the accompanying photographs, absolutely barren peaks. Not only have the forests been destroyed, but because of their destruction the soil has been washed off the naked rock. The terrible consequence is that it is impos-

first-class civilian scouts, or rangers, and further, place the road construction under the superintendent instead of leaving it with the War Department. Such a change in park management would result in economy and avoid the difficulties of administration which now arise from having the responsibility of care and protection divided between different departments. The need for this course is peculiarly great in the Yellowstone Park. This, like the Yosemite, is a great wonderland, and should be kept as a national playground. In both all wild things should be protected, and the scenery kept wholly unmarred.

National Parks.

I am happy to say that I have been able to set aside in various parts of the country small, well-chosen tracts of ground to serve as sanctuaries and nurseries for wild creatures.

I had occasion in my message of May 4, 1906, to urge the passage of some law putting alcohol, used in the arts, industries, and manufactures, upon the free list; that is, to provide for the withdrawal free of tax of alcohol which is to be denatured for those purposes. The law of June 7, 1906, and its amendment of March 2, 1907, accomplished what was desired in that respect, and the use of denatured alcohol, as intended, is making a fair degree of progress and is entitled to further encouragement and support from the Congress.

Denatured Alcohol.

The pure food legislation has already worked a benefit difficult to overestimate.

Pure Food.

It has been my purpose from the beginning of my administration to take the Indian Service completely out of the atmosphere of political activity, and there has been steady progress toward that end. The last remaining stronghold of politics in that service was the agency system, which had seen its best days and was gradually falling to pieces from natural or purely evolutionary causes, but, like all such survivals, was decaying slowly in its later stages. It seems clear that its extinction had better be made final now, so that the ground can be cleared for larger constructive work on behalf of the Indians, preparatory to their induction into the full measure of responsible citizenship. On November 1 only eighteen agencies were left on the roster; with two exceptions, where some legal questions seemed to stand temporarily in the way, these have been changed to superintendencies, and their heads brought into the classified civil service.

Indian Service.

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THE PRESIDENTS

A Reference History

HENRY F. GRAFF
EDITOR

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
NEW YORK

That the Woodrow Wilson administration often enough acted on those principles during the 1917–1920 period was in no small measure because of the pressure for a draconian repression that men like Roosevelt persistently demanded. The blows suffered by civil liberties during that period in fact shattered for years the confidence that progressive reformers had once placed in a strong central government. Roosevelt's final years did much to undo what he had achieved for reform as president.

CONCLUSION

That Theodore Roosevelt is counted among the great heroes of the progressive democratic tradition, alongside Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, must be counted an oddity of historical circumstance. In essence, he was profoundly conservative, especially in his exaltation of martial values; in his emphasis on duty; in his simplistic view of patriotism; in his absolutistic understanding of morality, justice, and right; in his candid assertion of the moral superiority of the "right people" (especially defined by their effective organization and uses of power); in his easy distinction between the righteous and the malevolent, the civilized and the savage. But he happened upon the presidency just as the nation confronted seriously for the first time the emergence of a national, interstate corporate power that transformed traditional modes of business enterprise, threatened the integrity of democratic processes, and tampered with the mechanisms for free-market allocation of economic resources, rewards, and opportunities. As champion of a federal government strong enough and willful enough to meet the men of new corporate power, Roosevelt became a democratic hero. His foreign policy, equally vigorous, bold, and prescient, continues to draw more mixed reviews.

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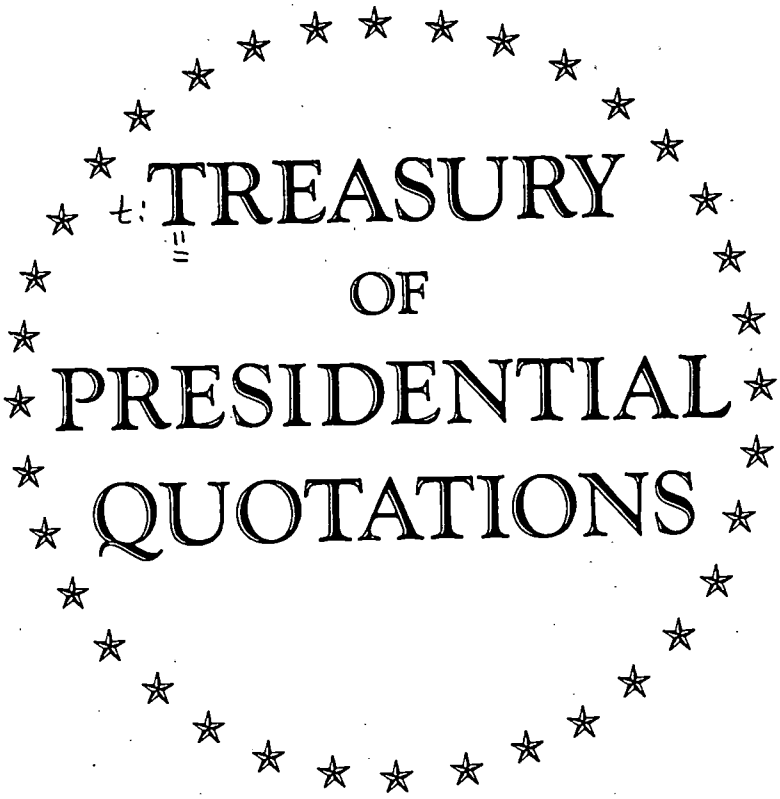

TREASURY OF PRESIDENTIAL QUOTATIONS

Compiled and edited by
CAROLINE THOMAS HARNSBERGER

FOLLETT PUBLISHING COMPANY
CHICAGO
1964

3. Friends, I am a thorough believer in the American test of character. He will not build high who does not build for himself.

BENJAMIN HARRISON
At Indianapolis, Ind., July 4, 1888; *Speeches, p. 39*

4. In acquiring knowledge there is one thing equally important, and that is character. Nothing in the . . . world is worth so much, will last so long, and serve its possessor so well as good character.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY
At Savannah, Ga., Dec. 18, 1898; *Speeches and Addresses, p. 177*

5. It is character that counts in a nation as in a man. It is a good thing to have a keen, fine intellectual development in a nation, to produce orators, artists, successful business men; but it is an infinitely greater thing to have those solid qualities which we group together under the name of character—sobriety, steadfastness, the sense of obligation toward one's neighbor and one's God, hard common sense, and, combined with it, the lift of generous enthusiasm toward whatever is right. These are the qualities which go to make up true national greatness.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Address at Galena, Ill., Apr. 27, 1900; *Works, XIII, 437*

6. A sound body is good; a sound mind is better; but a strong and clean character is better than either.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT
At Groton, Mass., May 24, 1904; *Presidential Addresses, III, 14*

7. No man can lead a public career really worth leading, no man can act with rugged independence in serious crises, nor strike at great abuses, nor afford to make powerful and unscrupulous foes, if he is himself vulnerable in his private character.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Autobiography, p. 84

8. Character is a by-product; it is produced in the great manufacture of daily duty.

WOODROW WILSON
Address at Arlington, Va., May 31, 1915; *Public Papers, III, 337*

9. The one continuing, unchanging and unchangeable thing is character. A business built with conscience as its architect and character as its cornerstone, is destined to stand foursquare and firm.

WARREN G. HARDING

10. Character is the only secure foundation of the State.

CALVIN COOLIDGE
Address in New York, N.Y., Feb. 12, 1924; *Messages and Papers, p. 9378*

2. The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

First Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1901; *Messages and Papers, p. 6643*

3. We can have no "fifty-fifty" allegiance in this country. Either a man is an American and nothing else, or he is not an American at all. We are akin by blood and descent to most of the nations of Europe; but we are separate from all of them; we are a new and distinct nation, and we are bound always to give our whole-hearted and undivided loyalty to our own flag, and in any international crisis to treat each and every foreign nation purely according to its conduct in that crisis.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Sept 10, 1917; *Works, XIX, 33*

4. Like all Americans, I like big things: big prairies, big forests and mountains, big wheatfields, railroads . . . and everything else. But no people ever yet benefited by riches if their prosperity corrupted their virtue.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Speech at Dickinson, N.D., July 4, 1886; *Bad Lands, p. 409*

5. We have taken millions of foreigners into our civilization, but we have amalgamated them, and . . . we have made them all Americans. We have bred to a type.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

6. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American.

WOODROW WILSON

Address in Philadelphia, Pa., May 10, 1915; *Messages and Papers (Shaw), I, 115*

7. We [Americans] are the predestined mediators of mankind.

WOODROW WILSON

Speech at St. Paul, Minn., Sept. 9, 1919; *Public Papers, VI, 82*

8. American citizenship is a high estate. He who holds it is the peer of kings. It has been secured only by untold toil and effort. It will be maintained by no other method. . . . To attempt to turn it into a thing of ease and inaction would be only to debase it. To cease to struggle and toil and sacrifice for it is not only to cease to be worthy of it but is to start a retreat toward barbarism. . . . This is the stand that those must maintain who are worthy to be called Americans.

CALVIN COOLIDGE

Speech at Arlington National Cemetery, May 30, 1924; *Foundations, p. 23*

9. We believe that we can best serve our own country and most successfully discharge our obligations to humanity by continuing

After three or four days the household was "partly settled," and Edith collapsed into "a heavy sleep of exhaustion" for forty-eight hours. "To me the shadow still hangs over the White House," she wrote Emily as she began to recover, "and I am in constant fear about Theodore . . . He is well, but I find I have to consider him at every turn to make all go smoothly."[14]

A token of the First Lady's determination to remain a part of the President's life was her appropriation of the upstairs oval library as her personal sitting room. A door connected this room to Theodore's office, making it possible for him to consult with her between appointments, and for her to tap lightly if he stayed up too late working.

The children soon made themselves at home in Washington. They raced new bicycles around the White House grounds, found the high-ceilinged halls ideal for stilt-walking, and roller-skated in the cavernous basement. These pleasures were curtailed when school began in October. Edith arranged for Kermit and Archie to go to local public schools, and enrolled Ethel as a boarder from Mondays to Fridays at the Cathedral School on Woodley Street in the Cleveland Park section of the city. Alice successfully evaded the same fate by staying with Bamie at Farmington. She seemed to resent the fuss made by her peers as they dwelt on the privileges attending a President's daughter, and determinedly remained away until the end of the month, by which time she was reconciled to exploring the advantages of the White House for herself.

Edith gradually established a routine which would change little over the next few years. She had breakfast with her husband and the children at eight-fifteen, after which she and Theodore walked in the garden. At nine o'clock she dealt with her voluminous mail, read and clipped the newspapers, made a list of visitors she wished to see, and consulted with the steward, the chef and the maids about the day's activities and menus. (She had decided to break with tradition and abolish the office of Housekeeper, preferring to supervise things herself.) Between eleven and twelve every Tuesday she entertained the wives of the Cabinet officers in her sunny sitting room. Enthroned in a heavy armchair, and flanked on either side by her guests, formally arranged on two long sofas, she conducted a genteel discussion of topics of the day. On other weekdays at this time, she had French conversation lessons, or went for a drive in her carriage,

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was no doubt that the new President and his wife were thoroughly qualified for and ideally suited to their position. They were, after all, the first aristocrats to preside over the Executive Mansion since the John Quincy Adamses, and even *Town Topics*, which was notoriously quicker to blame than to praise, observed that Edith was "a lady who does not have to depend on dressmakers or books of etiquette to make her presentable, and one to whom the duties of her high position . . . come rather as a right than a revelation."[19]

The presidential salary of fifty thousand a year, and generous appropriations for upkeep, fuel, lighting and stationery, meant that Edith at last could entertain in a style for which she had a taste, but had not hitherto been able to afford. For the moment, however, while Washington was still in mourning for McKinley, the most she could do was hold afternoon teas graced by lace doilies, colored ribbons, matching flowerpieces and elaborate confections. But soon there would be garden parties with uniformed bands, and huge marquees packed with refreshments; and, most expensive of all, several sumptuous State banquets every season lavish with orchids and champagne.

John Hay's attitude to Theodore Roosevelt was that of "a benevolent and amused uncle." To his neighbor Henry Adams he wrote: "Teddy said the other day, 'I am not going to be a slave of the tradition that forbids Presidents from seeing their friends. I am going to dine with you and Henry Adams and Cabot whenever I like. But' (here the shadow of the crown sobered him a little) 'of course I must preserve the prerogative of the initiative.'"[20]

Crown or no crown, Theodore certainly used the initiative in a startling way when, on October 16, he invited Booker T. Washington, the Negro head of Tuskegee Institute, to dine at the White House. No black had ever done so before, and when Washington's name appeared on the list of the day's callers there was an uproar, particularly among Southern whites. The President, they raged, was fomenting dangerous ideas of racial and social equality. In defense, Theodore said he had had no intention other than that "of showing some little respect to a man whom I cordially esteem as a good citizen and good American." Actually, Roosevelt's intention in inviting Washington had been to discuss hard political business. "We talked at considerable length," the black man wrote afterward, adding that he felt that Roosevelt "wanted to help not only the Negro, but the

whole South."[21] In doing this the President needed to recruit Washington's help in finding suitable Southerners for federal posts, and forming the Republican Party's Southern election strategy. Amid all the hysteria that followed, "Mr. Dooley," the satirist Finley Peter Dunne, was a voice for sanity. "From all I can larn, he hung his hat on th' rack and used proper discrimination between th' knife an' th' fork, an ast f'r nawthin' that had to be sent out f'r." An inventory of the spoons, remarked the columnist, showed that Washington "had used gintlemanly resthraint." The furor eventually died down, but no other black dined at the White House during Theodore Roosevelt's tenure.[22]

"Simplicity Marks the White House Thanksgiving," headlined the New York *Journal* on November 28, 1901. "There were no formal functions, but everybody had a good time, plenty of turkey and trimmings . . . and a social gathering in the Red Parlor."

The Douglas Robinsons and the Lodges joined the Roosevelts for the traditional dinner, and Corinne wrote a friend that she had "never seen Theodore more darling and gay and natural." Edith was "looking very attractive in her pure white gown, the children playing about and an atmosphere of home and hospitality permeating everything." Bamie, who had visited Edith shortly before, found her sister-in-law "so calm and with time for everything—her great sunny room and she sitting quietly embroidering make a tranquil-feeling spot in life."[23]

Christmas was more festive. Edith and Theodore went to a Christmas Eve party at the Cowleses', hung stockings on the White House library mantel, and entertained twenty-six to dinner on Christmas night, followed by dancing in the East Room. Next day, Edith took the children for a three-day cruise down the Potomac on the Presidential yacht *Dolphin*. In later years she fondly recalled such excursions "where we used to go ashore and have the most wonderful oyster roasts."[24] After three months as First Lady, Edith Kermit Roosevelt was clearly in full command of her official duties, at peace with herself, and, above all, having fun.

After this quiet season, 1902 began with an eleven-o'clock fanfare of trumpets heralding the New Year's Day reception. It was the signal for Edith, wearing a white corded-silk gown and carrying a

his the President needed to recruit
suitable Southerners for federal posts,
ırty's Southern election strategy. Amid
'Mr. Dooley," the satirist Finley Peter
"From all I can larn, he hung his hat
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bouquet of orchids and lilies of the valley, to descend the White House staircase on the President's arm. Behind her, to the sound of martial music played by the red-uniformed Marine Band (concealed in a bank of thick holly), followed members of the Cabinet, their black suits contrasting somberly with the profusion of red and green tropical plants in every niche, and the brilliant glow of Roman torches. Edith and Theodore led the procession to the Blue Room. Here they began to receive according to strict laws of protocol. First came a coruscating parade of foreign ambassadors: the German representative resplendent in white-plumed hat, blue cape and scarlet coat ablaze with gold and jeweled decorations; the Russian in blue and gold effulgent with medals; and the Chinese legation in sumptuous Oriental silks and satins. Next came the robed Supreme Court Justices, followed by Senators, Congressmen, Army and Navy officers and hundreds of other dignitaries. Finally there were some five thousand ordinary citizens, trooping through reverently to shake hands with their new Chief Executive. As she had in Albany, Edith sweetly discouraged contact by holding her bouquet with both hands and simply smiling and bowing. At 1:30 P.M. Theodore told her she had done her part. He, however, would continue so as not to "disappoint the people who had stood so long in the cold."[25]

The following night, Edith was hostess at her first Cabinet Dinner. Fifty people assembled in the East Room, which was decorated with poinsettia blooms from the White House conservatory. Then Theodore and Edith—dressed in a pale-blue "picture" gown—led their guests through all the public rooms to the State Dining Room at the west end of the house. Here an enormous hour-glass-shaped table, decorated with a blazing mass of pink begonias edged with maidenhair fern, was illuminated by gilded candelabra. Conversation across such an elaborate arrangement was difficult; the President, sitting opposite his wife, complained that he could not see her for foliage. But the atmosphere was warm and friendly, and Edith had every reason to congratulate herself for carrying the evening off so smoothly.

Alice's début took place the very next night. Most young women of her age (she would be eighteen in six weeks' time) might have relished the experience of coming out in the White House. No President's daughter, indeed, had ever made her début here; the event was regarded as the most important ball at 1600 Pennsylvania

Avenue since the days of Dolley Madison. Alice, however, was not easy to please. For one thing, the young lady did not like the East Room's bourgeois décor of circular padded seats, endless strands of smilax, and potted palms. She also found the waxed linen crash tacked across the floor for the five hundred dancers "humiliating." The serving of punch, instead of the champagne customary at the parties of her sophisticated New York friends, was another "horrid blow." Even worse was the lack of a cotillion with its ever changing partners and the chance to receive expensive "favors"—gold watches, pearl necklaces, jeweled evening bags, and silver cigarette cases. Her cost-conscious stepmother forbade such extravagance. Alice was prepared to finance the champagne and the favors out of her own independent income (a quarterly stipend of $500 from the Lees), but Edith insisted that the party was her parents' responsibility and she must have what they could afford.[26]

The reception began in the Blue Room at 10 P.M. Alice, looking exquisite in white chiffon appliquéd with white rosebuds, her light-brown hair arranged in a fashionable pompadour, greeted the guests with Edith at her side. All of New York and Washington society seemed to be there. Among those filing by were the fabulous Leiter girls; the daughters of the British Ambassador, Sir Julian Pauncefote; Alice's handsome cousin Franklin Delano Roosevelt; her wealthy boy friends Ogden Reid, Payne Whitney and Robert Goelet; and Countess Marguerite Cassini, the Russian ambassador's pretty daughter, who would become Alice's close friend and, later on, her romantic rival.

If the debutante herself was less than buoyant, no one noticed. There were more than enough millionaires to keep her amused, and she whirled happily in their arms to the strains of the "Hop Long Sing" two-step, Sousa's "Bride Elect" polka, and a recently composed tune called the "Sagamore Hill" waltz. "Alice had the time of her life," wrote her Aunt Corinne, "men seven deep around her all the time, Edith a gracious hostess, Theodore perfect . . . such go to it all. We did not leave until two o'clock and I think everyone had a good time. The beautiful conservatories were perfect for sentiment and it was so pretty to see the girls' gay dresses and many a uniform and college athlete hidden among the plants."[27]

Not everyone was as enamored of White House functions as Corinne. Melancholic Henry Adams was among the disapprovers. A

and Theodore circulated among them. At eleven-thirty the First Lady returned to the Green Room to bid everybody good night. "She has a fashion of seeming to have been looking and longing for just the particular one who is greeting her," wrote a newsman, "and her gentle hand-pressure, a thing apart from the cold, flabby society 'shake,' sends you on your way rejoicing."[40]

Edith's early programs were simple, consisting mostly of songs and other light chamber music. Then, on April 3, the world-renowned flamboyantly hirsute pianist Ignace Jan Paderewski came to play. He dined with the Roosevelts before giving his recital to a worshipful audience. The artist Cecelia Beaux recalled the evening in painterly detail, in a letter written next day:

> The yellow head of the Lion shone gloriously against the satin of the Blue Room . . . He and Madame were standing alone, as were all the other couples, whispering . . . It is a thrilling moment when the Sovereigns come in, and we all rise, if we have been seated, an act which would turn the head of any ordinary civilian. They went the rounds, and made each of us happy. The President is too delicious when he drops his great square head on one side, with an air of exchanging a confidence with the Country's guest . . . The East Room was crowded . . . I sat with the St. Gaudenses, the Proctors, and Mrs. West Roosevelt. . . . The President was near with Mrs. Lodge. Paderewski outdid himself, though he was a little cold at first. By the time he got to the ["Military"] Polonaise . . . I think it may have been better than hearing Chopin himself.[41]

On another evening the austere but spectacularly handsome Ferrucio Busoni performed, and later came a promising young Spanish cellist named Pablo Casals. He played a Boccherini sonata and Saint-Saëns's undulating "Le Cygne." Sixty years would pass before Casals returned to the White House to perform for the John Fitzgerald Kennedys.

Edith's other musicales were even more ambitious. She brought in the Vienna Male Voice Choir from Europe, and on another occasion the entire Philadelphia Orchestra. No other White House hostess,

CABINET DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON. IT CONTINUED TO BE SO USED UNTIL THE YEAR MCMII. HERE THE TREATY OF PEACE WITH SPAIN WAS SIGNED."

The President's desk was made from oak timbers of the British ship *Resolute*, which had been found abandoned in the Arctic Circle by a U.S. whaler in 1855. Purchased and refitted by Congress, the ship had been sent to Queen Victoria "as a token of goodwill and friendship." When it was eventually broken up, the Queen ordered that a desk be made from its hulk, and sent to President Hayes in 1880 "as a memorial of the courtesy and loving kindness which dictated the offer of the gift of the President."[11]

Edith was particularly pleased with the success of her plans for the master bedroom. It made a sunny refuge, with its southward-facing windows, pink-and-green-garlanded curtains, and matching sofa. Theodore, too, approved the room, because Edith had installed some furniture that had been used by the Lincolns. He said he liked to imagine the Emancipator shambling about the mansion, his face deeply furrowed and racked in thought.[12]

By mid-October the Executive Office Wing west of the restored colonnade was ready—the first presidential working quarters to be separate from the White House since fire destroyed those built by Jefferson.[13] It was a graceful one-story structure, low and unobtrusive, yet with ample space for the President and his thirty-eight assistants and members of the press.

Theodore, now able to hobble on crutches, immediately moved in. Crossing the reception hall, he entered his own suite, dominated by a large square fifteen-by-fifteen-foot office. The room was simply decorated with olive burlap walls and matching curtains. There was a fireplace opposite the big mahogany desk, and over the mantel hung an oil portrait of Lincoln. Bookshelves, a divan, several comfortable chairs, and an Art Nouveau lamp completed the official décor. Theodore's personal touch was already evident in a globe of the world, a photo of a bear, and a framed autographed copy of "Opportunity," a sonnet by the late Senator Ingall:

Master of human destinies am I.
Fame, love, and fortune on my footsteps wait;
Cities and fields I walk; I penetrate
Deserts and seas remote, and passing by

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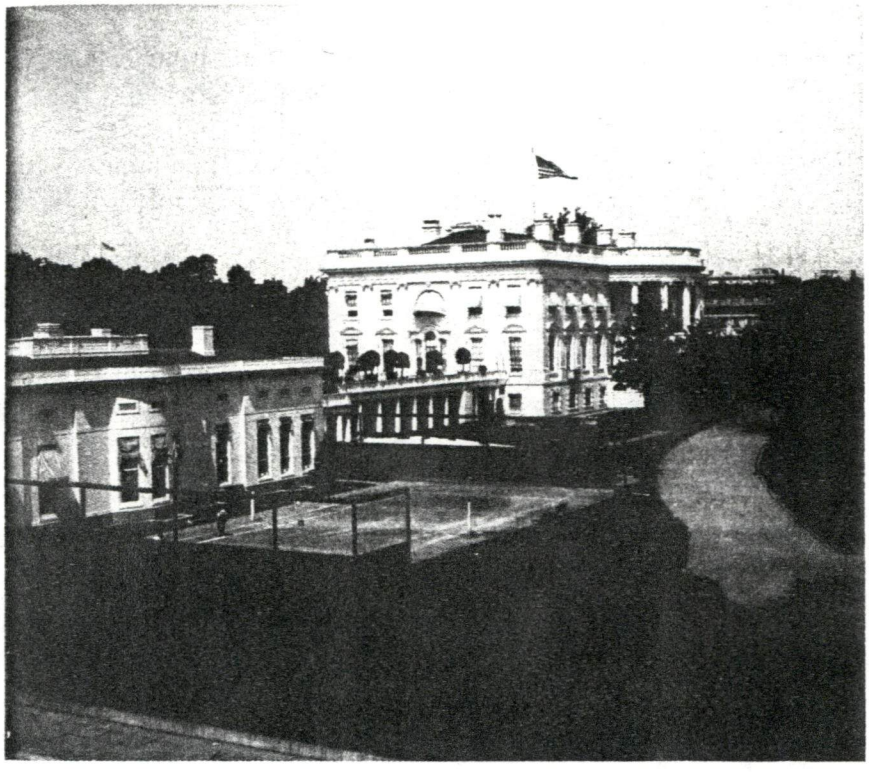
Hovel, the mart, and palace, soon or late
I knock unbidden once at every gate!
If sleeping wake—if feasting, rise before
I turn away. It is the hour of fate,
And they who follow me reach every state
Mortals desire, and conquer every foe
Save death; but those who doubt or hesitate,
Condemned to failure, penury, and woe,
Seek me in vain, and uselessly implore,
I answer not, and I return no more.[14]

Edith's own personal touch was a large bunch of purple flowering heliotrope, a traditional symbol of a happy marriage.



"High windows faced south onto a tennis court."
The new Executive Office wing and grounds
during the Roosevelt Administration.

Sliding doors opened eastward into the Cabinet Room, whose nine deep leather armchairs sported silver name-plates, giving a pleasing (if illusory) sense of permanence to their occupants. High windows faced south onto a tennis court, which Edith, who was concerned about her husband's weight, had ordered constructed. Here, in time, a "Tennis Cabinet" would form, consisting of such accomplished players as the United States Forester Gifford Pinchot, Secretary of the Interior James R. Garfield, and Assistant Secretary of State Robert Bacon, as well as some of the fitter members of the Diplomatic Corps.[15]

A vivid picture of Roosevelt at work in the Executive Office Wing has survived in the writings of William Bayard Hale, a *New York Times* reporter, who spent many hours watching the phenomenal routine of the nation's twenty-sixth President.

> Here, in the Cabinet Room, those who call to see the President are usually received by him, from 10 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. Between ten and twelve Senators and Representatives have the entrée without the need of an appointment. Others must make an appointment with Secretary Loeb. Sometimes a score of people will be in the Cabinet Room at one time, and the President goes from one to another, making the circle of the room half a dozen times in a morning, always speaking with great animation, gesturing freely, and in fact talking "with his whole being, mouth, eyes, forehead, cheeks and neck all taking their mobile parts." He stands for the most part as rigid as a soldier on parade, chin in, chest out, the line from the back of the head falling straight as a plumb line to the heels . . . When the President sits, it may be on the divan or on the Cabinet table, he is very much at his ease, and half the time one foot is curled up under him. Curiously whenever he tucks one foot under him his visitor is very likely to do the same thing.
>
> A hundred times a day the President will laugh, and, when he laughs he does it with the same energy with which he talks. It is usually a roar of laughter, and it comes nearly every five minutes. His face grows red with merriment, his eyes nearly close, his utterance becomes

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> choked and sputtery and falsetto, and sometimes he doubles up with paroxysm. You don't smile with Mr. Roosevelt; you shout with laughter with him, and then you shout again while he tries to cork up more laugh and sputters: "Come, gentlemen, let us be serious . . ."[16]

Though always first to deny that he was a man of genius, except perhaps as a leader, Theodore Roosevelt nevertheless had an abnormal capacity to comprehend and absorb the most intractable problems and data. In a manner reminiscent of Napoleon Bonaparte, he wore out his secretaries and stenographers with endless hours of dictation. Every subject, ranging from the habits of the water ousel to the political future of Manchuria, interested him. He would finish dictating a thirty-thousand-word critique of a recently published book, and call immediately for another "shorthand man" to handle a government matter, while the first staggered into the General Office in a state of exhaustion. William Loeb, who had been the only stenographer Theodore could depend on to stay after office hours in Albany, furnished the same service as Private Secretary in the White House. "He is always on the spot," said the President, "and that means everything to me."[17]

No news item or article, no matter how unfavorable to him or his Administration, was kept from Theodore Roosevelt. A staff member would read between three hundred and five hundred newspapers each day, and mark for the President's attention anything which reflected the opinions or mood of the country. Edith liked to sift through these selections as well as read three or four newspapers of her own choosing, and then call Theodore's attention to "any item which she thought he should know about."[18]

In spite of the splendor of her new surroundings, and the importance of her administrative duties, Edith privately continued to find her identity in motherhood. "I have been busy in my trunks today," she wrote Emily after returning to Oyster Bay to collect the children the following Sunday. "The baby trunk made me rather sad . . . I shall keep the little things another year in the hope of using them."

His wife's longing for a sixth child (or seventh, counting Alice) was not shared by Theodore. Even after the birth of Archie he had said

with his usual perspicacity and spleen. "The portrait is good Sargent and not very bad Roosevelt. It is not Theodore, but a young intellectual idealist with a taste for athletics, which I take to be Theodore's idea of himself. It is for once less brutal than its subject, and will only murder everything in the White House. Of course we all approve it."[14]

The First Family broke up temporarily at the approach of spring. Alice made a goodwill visit to Puerto Rico; Theodore left for a two-month cross-country tour; Edith took her three youngest children on a cruise in the naval yacht *Mayflower*. With Ted and Kermit away at school, the White House was silent for the first time in months. Then, on Easter Monday, April 13, it resounded again with happy shrieks. Thousands of young Washingtonians arrived carrying baskets of hard boiled eggs, which they proceeded to roll down the gently sloping lawns. Edith did not approve of this old custom. "It seems such needless destruction of the lovely grass." Almost worse was the game called "picking eggs," when pairs of children tapped their respective eggs together to see whose cracked first. The huge number of broken eggs gave off a combined odor that could be smelled three squares away,[15] and Edith was relieved when the contest came to a conclusion.

Nine-year-old Archie missed the fun, having been stricken by both measles and whooping cough. He was also depressed about the death of "Jack Dog," a favorite black-and-tan fox terrier. Edith had Jack buried in a glass-topped coffin and promised reinterment in the "Faithful Friends" pet cemetery at Sagamore Hill later. But Archie was inconsolable. To cheer him up, Quentin enlisted the aid of a footman in coaxing Algonquin, Archie's calico pony, into the White House elevator. The 350-pound animal was understandably nervous at first, but soon became interested in his own reflection in the elevator mirror, enabling the footman to press the second-floor button. The sight of Algonquin trotting into Archie's bedroom did wonders for the invalid, who immediately began to mend. In no time at all he was up and dressed in his riding costume of Rough Rider hat, blue knickerbockers, and yellow leggings, and galloping around the White House grounds again.

The Roosevelt children and their ever-growing menagerie of eccentric pets came as a godsend to the Washington press, who had

"The sight of Algonquin trotting in . . . did wonders for the invalid." Quentin Roosevelt mounted, with White House policeman.

been starved of humorous copy since the days of Abraham Lincoln. In addition to Algonquin there was Tom Quartz, "the cunningest kitten," who once seized Speaker Joe Cannon by the ankle half way down the grand staircase; there was Kermit's kangaroo rat, who had to be fed lumps of sugar at the breakfast table; there were Eli the blue macaw and Loretta the parrot, who periodically filled the Executive Mansion corridors with their cackling; and there was Emily Spinach, the emerald green snake (named after the unfortunate Miss Carow) whom Alice took to fashionable parties in her purse. "A nervous person had no business around the White House in those days,"

remembered Ike Hoover. "He was sure to be a wreck in a very short time."[16]

Edith would have been the first to agree. No sooner had she waxed, polished and finished the new East Room's handsome parquet floor than the staff found it crisscrossed with spiral-rutted lines. "We thought it would make a fine roller-skating ring," the young culprits explained, "and we found it dandy."[17]

"Not one of my children ever wants to be told or directed about anything whatever!" Edith admitted to Ethel's piano teacher. It was no use appealing to Theodore, who had been known to slip into the nursery before a Diplomatic Reception for a romp with "two small persons in pink tommies," emerging with his dress shirt so "mussed" that it had to be changed. "He thinks children should be given entire freedom for their own inclinations," the First Lady complained.[18]

On May 3, Edith dined at Henry Adams's house with a group of friends, to say goodbye to the historian, who was about to sail for Europe. Adams was in a feisty frame of mind, and harped on his favorite theme—the superiority of the American female to her male counterpart. "The American man is a failure!" he ranted. "Has not my sister here more sense than my brother Brooks? . . . Wouldn't we all elect Mrs. Lodge Senator against Cabot? Would the President have a ghost of a chance if Mrs. Roosevelt ran against him?" Someone remarked that these women were not average, and Adams replied that neither were the men. Edith, who was always stimulated by such conversation, enjoyed herself hugely. "Everyone was as pleasant as possible," she wrote her husband afterward, carefully neglecting to tell him exactly what Adams had said.[19]

Theodore returned from his transcontinental tour on June 5, 1903. Edith heaved a deep sigh of relief when she saw his carriage drive up to the White House portico. Although she believed that the West was "the one place in his domains" where he could "escape the ubiquitous reporter," she felt drained by her two anxious months of worrying about his safety.[20] The children could hardly contain themselves for excitement, and waited with bated breath to see what gifts he had brought. The favorite was a badger named Josiah, who waddled about "like a little bear submitting with perfect equanimity to being picked up." Archie was pleased to discover that "he bites legs sometimes but he never bites faces."[21]

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Edith and Theodore took special pleasure in Washington's blossoming locust trees and honeysuckle vines that spring, knowing that if the electorate voted "with its back to the future" in November they would not be there to see them the following year. "I do not think that any two people ever got more enjoyment out of the White House than Mother and I," the President wrote Ted. "We love the House itself without and within, for its associations, for its stateliness and its simplicity. We love the garden. And we like Washington. We almost always take our breakfast on the south portico now, Mother looking very pretty and dainty in her summer dresses . . ."[24]

According to Taft, Theodore Roosevelt loved the South Portico as he did no other part of the White House. He made his "most brilliant sallies of wit" on that spot, and "when the world seemed to be all awry" it was there that he and Edith sat, "and his tempestuous nature would receive just that influence that made him one of the greatest figures the country has ever seen."[25]

The Roosevelts were sitting on the Portico after lunch on June 23, 1904, when Secretary Loeb brought the news that Theodore and Charles Warren Fairbanks had been nominated Republican candidates for President and Vice-President at the Chicago Convention. The news was not surprising to Theodore, given the fact that his only serious challenger, Senator Hanna, had died earlier that year. His opponent would be Alton B. Parker, a conservative Gold Democrat and anti-imperialist. Edith remembered Parker as the New York State judge who had so accurately forecast Theodore's nomination as Vice-President in 1900. Knowing Parker to be a colorless personality, she saw no threat in his candidacy.

Edith went to Oyster Bay next day. Theodore remained behind; he would spend much of that summer in Washington, pondering his prospects in the fall election. "If defeated," he wrote Bamie, "I shall feel disappointed, yet I shall also feel that I have had far more happiness and success than fall to any but a very few men; and this aside from the infinitely more important fact that I have had the happiest home life of any man whom I have ever known."[26]

"The nearer the election comes the more anxious and uneasy I get," Edith wrote Emily in early October. But her fears were unfounded. Parker's campaign collapsed like a pricked balloon. A Democratic attempt to smear Roosevelt, for receiving seventy-two

accept anything but a red-hot stove, "and will take that if it does not take too long to cool." She was not entirely mercenary, however. One of her favorite gifts was a string of amber beads Kermit had bought at Fischer's for fifty dollars; she wore it "all the time."[10]

Saturday, February 17, was a bright mild day, and the White House staff was busy early preparing for the most splendid function ever held in the historic house. Edith, bracing herself for the ordeal to begin at noon, spent the first couple of hours at an upstairs window, knitting and talking to Grandma Lee. Grandpa Lee was out walking with Douglas Robinson. Theodore, making the most of spare moments as usual, was in his office firing off letters on fraud in municipal elections and the wisdom of scheduling jujitsu as a form of exercise at the Naval Academy.

Shortly before twelve Edith entered the East Room on Ted's arm, and found the huge chamber full to bursting with friends, government officials, and diplomats. All eyes were on her as she walked up an aisle formed by ropes of white ribbon toward her front-row seat on the left. She wore a brown brocade of Japanese design—an unfortunate choice, in that it accentuated her tired pallor. After five successive seasons of increasingly brilliant entertaining at the pinnacle of American society—not to mention her large family responsibility—the First Lady was beginning to feel and show the strain. As Theodore said, "Edith is all right as far as her tether goes, but her tether is not a long one."[11]

An improvised altar placed over an Oriental rug stood on a platform erected in front of the east window. On either side were two large Satsuma vases filled with Easter lilies, in simple contrast to the banks of azaleas, American Beauty roses, and white rhododendrons elsewhere in the room. As the corridor clock chimed the hour of noon, and the Marine band struck up the march from *Tannhäuser*, Alice appeared on her father's arm.

Appropriately she wore a princess-style gown of white satin. The yoke and short sleeves were trimmed with the same lace that her own mother and grandmother had worn on their wedding days. A circlet of orange blossom anchored a voluminous veil to her soft pompadour. Round her neck was a diamond necklace from Nick, and she carried a bouquet of white orchids. No bridesmaids attended her. Alice wanted no competition—not that she would have had any. The President's

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ould have had any. The President's

daughter, declared *The New York Times*, "looked as pretty as she ever did in her life."[12]

Bishop Henry Yates Satterlee began to recite the service in a voice which reminded one guest of an auctioneer's. At one point the bride "turned her head almost wistfully" toward her stepmother. The President, who wore no buttonhole, seemed subdued. When the moment came for him to give her away, his voice, in contrast to the bishop's, was scarcely audible.

As soon as the ceremony ended Alice crossed to her stepmother, arms outstretched. Edith rose in some surprise. Placing both hands on the First Lady's shoulders, Alice affectionately kissed her. Then, holding her at arms' length, she spoke a few words and kissed her again.[13]

This display of spontaneous warmth was charged with emotion for both women. For nineteen years Edith had nurtured the girl as though she were her own, feeling all along that anyone who was part of Theodore was inevitably part of herself. Now, at the high point of Alice's life, here was proof, if such was needed, that the care was appreciated and the affection returned. Almost seventy years later Alice would admit that while she loved her father she was "never particularly close to him." On the other hand, "I enjoyed my stepmother."[14]

Nick, who looked so happy that a *Times* reporter compared him to "one broad beam of sunshine," also embraced his mother-in-law, while Cousin Franklin made himself useful arranging Alice's long silver brocade court train for the photographers.[15] Theodore joined the bride and groom for a stiffly formal group portrait, and then they adjourned to the State Dining Room for the wedding reception.

Among the throng waiting in line to congratulate them was Nellie Grant Sartoris, daughter of the great general, herself a White House bride thirty-two years before. Alice greeted her with due formality, but nobody received preferential treatment after the first champagne cork popped. Servants, aides, newsmen, and distinguished guests alike had democratic carte-blanche to help themselves to pâté, salad, claret, punch, strawberries and petit fours. "If the Secretary of State ranked the chambermaid no one worried about it this day," noted Ike Hoover, the White House usher. There was no stinting in the flow of food and wine. Even Hoover, who was inclined to think the Roosevelt fare inadequate, conceded: "It can be truthfully said that

ent's daughter
e ever did in her life.'"
orth with the President, 1906.

this was once, and only once, in this house when everybody was amply supplied with all the inner man might desire."[16]

As the afternoon wore on, close friends and family gathered in the private dining room adjoining to see the bride cut the cake. With the help of a military aide's saber, the slices fell away "like snow under a hot sun." By the time Alice went upstairs to change, Edith was "dropping with fatigue." Her stepdaughter knew "what a relief it was to her to have the wedding over at last and me off."[17]

The children showered their departing sister with rice, and when that grain gave out, Archie switched to black beans. Alice and Nick made a devious escape to thwart reporters, and spent the night at a secret hideaway just outside Washington. From here they went on to Cuba for a two-week honeymoon. Then, in June, they sailed for an extended tour of Europe, where they dined with King Edward, the Kaiser, and the President of France. "It was all very pleasant," said Alice nostalgically, "but there was no feeling of another world and time as there had been in the Orient."[18]

One possible reason why Theodore had looked so grim at Alice's wedding was the news that his eldest son and namesake was not doing well scholastically at Harvard. "A record of Cs and an occasional D does not allow much margin for accidents," he acidly informed Ted. Then, on February 23, news came that the young man's marks had deteriorated to the point where he had actually been put on probation. Theodore told his son to give up athletics and social life instantly, and "to peg away as hard as you know how." Edith minded her son's lapse very much, "coming when Father has so much to worry and bother him."[19]

Added to this domestic worry was the gradual realization that she was not the only one to feel the cumulative exhaustion of high office. Theodore, as he approached forty-eight, was beginning to display signs of premature age. Although he had "hardly a grey hair in his head, and hardly a wrinkle in his face," his weight was approaching two hundred pounds, and he complained of a stiffness in some of his movements. His frantic exercise regime, far from helping him, was a positive hindrance, since he sustained so many injuries from it. Parrying at single sticks with Leonard Wood resulted in swollen wrists and knuckles, Japanese wrestling aggravated his rheumatism, and a recent boxing blow, received while sparring with Edith's cousin

with the proviso that the Colombian government would grant the United States a lease on a ten-mile wide Canal Zone across the Isthmus of Panama for $10 million, plus an annual rental of $250,000. The Colombians, reluctant to sacrifice sovereignty, and greedy for a percentage of the price paid the French, had rejected the offer. There seemed no way out of this impasse until November 3, 1903, when a revolutionary junta seceded from Colombia and proclaimed the new Republic of Panama. At Theodore's urging the United States promptly recognized the new republic—too promptly, in international opinion—and within two weeks Secretary Hay had concluded a treaty with the *insurrectos*.

And so work on the isthmian canal had resumed under a new commission, which shipped in large numbers of Jamaicans used to heavy manual labor in a tropical climate. A brilliant American medic, Major William Crawford Gorgas, worked tirelessly to overcome the malaria and yellow-fever problem by eliminating the mosquito-breeding puddles. His success was phenomenal: not a single death occurred among twelve thousand whites in one three-month period. Hopes ran high that the canal—a triumph for American engineering and medicine in general, and for Theodore Roosevelt in particular—would be open for shipping in August 1914, and fully complete six years after that.

In the fall of 1906 Theodore announced he would go to Panama to see the work on the canal in progress. This would make him the first American President to travel abroad while in office.

At 4 P.M. on Thursday, November 8, Edith and Theodore boarded the *Mayflower,* sailed down the Potomac River to Chesapeake Bay and transferred to the S.S. *Louisiana* off Piney Point. The 16,000-ton battleship had been refitted for their comfort in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.[25] The Captain's and the Admiral's quarters in the after part of the gun deck were now combined into a suite consisting of a bedroom, a modern bathroom, a dressing room and two dining rooms, one with seating for thirty, another one for private use.

The *Louisiana* took the Windward Passage route to Panama, sailing between the bold mountains of Cuba and Haiti, past the east end of Jamaica and through the Caribbean to Colón. All six days at sea were calm and sunny. Wearing cool linen dresses, Edith spent her time reading Sabatier, "walking up and down the deck, or sitting at

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Twenty-Four

I have had the happiest home life of any man I have ever known.
—Theodore Roosevelt[1]

Edith's twentieth wedding anniversary on December 2, 1906, came and went with no special celebration at the White House. The Washington *Post*, however, did not allow the day to pass without editorial comment. "No couple better fitted to maintain and improve social traditions ever occupied the Executive Mansion," wrote the columnist, and urged citizens to raise their hats to "all that is best and wholesome in American family life."

If that included nine-year-old Quentin Roosevelt, his teacher at the Force School, Miss Virginia Arnold, could hardly agree. The boy, in a word, was a terror, so much so that she was obliged to write a letter of complaint to the President. His reply came promptly on White House stationery:

> DEAR MISS ARNOLD:
>
> I thank you for your note about Quentin. Don't you think it would be well to subject him to stricter

> discipline? . . . Mrs. Roosevelt and I have no scruples whatever against corporal punishment. . . . I do not think I ought to be called in merely for such offences as dancing when coming into the classroom, for singing higher than the other boys, or for failure to work as he should at his examples, or for drawing pictures instead of doing his sums. . . . If you find him defying your authority or committing any serious misdeeds let me know and I will whip him. . . .[2]

Edith thought that her "fine little bad boy" was the cleverest but most difficult to handle of all her children. He was strong-willed and independent-minded, with a degree of physical fearlessness that frightened her. No nook or cranny of the White House was sacred to him. Quentin climbed on the roof, crawled between the rafters, and squeezed into the eaves of the attic, penetrating places previously inhabited only by rats. He liked to scale the great magnolia tree beneath his mother's window, and thread "streams of official red tape to its topmost boughs." He was on terms of "affable familiarity" with Secret Service men, aides, servants and policemen, although his practical jokes often strained relations. Once he hid on top of the North Portico, and rolled a gigantic snowball onto the head of the officer on duty below. His father, who was just then emerging to greet an important visitor, was furious, not so much at the undignified spectacle of the law spraddled on the ground, but because the incident made him laugh so much.[3]

"Quentin is a roly-poly, happy-go-lucky personage," Theodore wrote Nannie Lodge, "the brightest of any of the children, but with a strong tendency to pass a very happy life in doing absolutely nothing except swim or loaf about with other little boys."[4]

These friends, known around town as "The White House Gang," included Charley Taft, the sturdy son of the Secretary of War; pale-browed Bromley Seeley, freckly Dick Chew, wiry Edward Stead, tiny Walker White and Earle Looker, the future chronicler of their exploits.

The gang's crimes were legion, and their punishments swift. When they fired spitballs at the portrait of Andrew Jackson (three on his forehead "like an Arabian dancer," Quentin said, two on his ear lobes, one on the end of his nose and a "gob over each of the buttons on his coat") the President banished the gang from the White House

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for a week. When they bounced sunbeams from mirrors onto the windows of the State-War-Navy Building, a uniformed figure appeared on the roof with flags and duly semaphored the following: "Y-O-U U-N-D-E-R T-R-E-E-S [pause] . . . A-T-T-A-C-K O-N T-H-I-S B-U-I-L-D-I-N-G M-U-S-T I-M-M-E-D-I-A-T-E-L-Y C-E-A-S-E H-A-L-T S-T-O-P [pause] C-L-E-R-K-S C-A-N-N-O-T W-O-R-K [pause] G-O-V-E-R-N-M-E-N-T B-U-S-I-N-E-S-S I-N-T-E-R-R-U-P-T-E-D [pause] R-E-P-O-R-T T-O M-E W-I-T-H-O-U-T D-E-L-A-Y F-O-R Y-O-U K-N-O-W W-H-A-T [pause] T-H-E-O-D-O-R-E R-O-O-S-E-V-E-L-T."[5]

Presidential dignity notwithstanding, Theodore could barely resist joining in some of their pranks himself. One day the boys were traveling in the back of a streetcar, and noticed the President following behind in his carriage. They began to make the worst faces they knew how at him. He responded immediately and in kind, producing "terrifying and extraordinary grimaces, which were witnessed with the utmost amazement by passengers on the car."[6]

The White House nursery, sandwiched between the library and Edith's bedroom, was the scene of much devilment. It was scantily furnished, so that spare beds could be easily installed to accommodate Quentin's overnight guests. During one pajama party the boys were in the middle of a pillow fight when they heard footsteps coming along the hall. Instantly, they turned off the light. The door opened, and a shadowy figure, partly obscured by a screen and chair, stepped inside. Without warning, each member of the gang let fly a pillow and felled the unidentified person with a crash. "The restored light disclosed TR in full evening dress," Bromley Seeley recalled, "half on the chair and half on the floor, submerged under pillows and nearly covered by the capsized screen. In the brief abashed silence his characteristic (and much caricatured) grin relieved our doubts, and his laughter as he regained his feet and replaced the screen was joined by our own . . . when he left he was enshrined more securely than ever in the hearts of six small boys."[7]

Edith was also a victim of gang antics. When she was entertaining an Italian diplomat and an army officer in the upstairs hall, Quentin and his friends, including Earle Looker, climbed to the skylight above in order to spy on them.

> The Italian's monocle convulsed us. Our own monocles—crystals from old watches—were promptly

> brought into service . . . Quentin—softly at first—began to talk what he fondly imagined to be Italian. The syllables were too contagious for us to remain silent, and soon we were all gibbering away, louder and louder.
>
> "Quentin!" Mrs. Roosevelt called, and four small boys, each with a glittering monocle in his eye . . . stared down from the edge of the skylight. The Italian opened his eyes in astonishment, and dropped his eyeglass into his tea![8]

In spite of necessary reproofs from time to time, Looker had the distinct impression that Edith "considered it a misfortune to be a First Lady, and, therefore, not able to romp with us through rooms and halls of the White House." He felt her "quick understanding of when it was wise to interfere with Gang plans—and when to look the other way . . . Her judgment in these matters was keen, because she was alive to the hourly changes of pitch of childhood spirit."[9]

The children were sensitive to the tenderness in the President's voice whenever he spoke his wife's name, and they grew to love "the gracious lady" with undiminished affection. "She was benign, affable, motherly, and, above all, interested in us all," Earle Looker remembered. What was more, she "knew more about the mind of a child . . . than any teacher of child psychology."[10]

This did not mean that Edith turned a blind eye to all of Quentin's peccadillos, and would ask Theodore to discipline him from time to time. But she always retired from the room "much agitated when the final catastrophe became imminent."[11]

Quentin was more like his father than her other sons, even Ted. He had the same spontaneous enthusiasms, was quick to anger and equally quick to forgive. He was frank, impetuous, aggressive, imaginative (he once compared his sunburned legs to a Turner sunset) and had the same explosive way of speaking. "His tow head was always mussed," according to Looker, "his tie coming untied . . . his stockings refusing to stay up. His head seemed too large for his body. He was as irrepressible mentally as he was physically, and, either way, there was no holding him down or back."[12]

He nearly always had the last and most pertinent word. When his father told him that he could not walk across the flower beds on stilts, because the gardener objected, he said contemptuously, "I don't see

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what good it does for you to be President. You can't do anything here." Once when he was starting out for school and his mother said, "It is not necessary to say that I hope you will be a good boy," he replied, "No, that would be a bromide."[13]

Quentin was more than a match for inquisitive reporters. Asked for some personal details about the President, he said, "I see him sometimes, but I know nothing of his family life."[14]

Theodore and Edith were often astonished at his enterprise and his ability to strike up democratic friendships. Rather than ask his parents to buy a beehive, he acquired his own with the aid of "a mongrel-looking small boy" whose father kept a fruit stand. When Mr. Schmid, the owner of a Washington pet shop, needed a pig, Quentin "called on an elderly darkey" in the country, bought one from him for one dollar, carried it under his arm to town on the cars, and sold it to Schmid for $1.25. "I don't know how I can keep him in order," said Edith in despair. "He is forever doing things and knows every mucker in town."[15]

He was certainly no respecter of dignified persons, nor, for that matter, the orderly conduct of government. During a meeting in the Executive Office between the President and the Attorney General, Quentin roller-skated in and deposited a large king snake, along with two smaller ones, in his father's lap. The President suggested that he go into the next room and wait his turn with four Congressmen. Quentin obediently rumbled off, "with the assurance that he would there find kindred spirits. They at first thought the snakes were wooden ones," Theodore told Archie later, "and there was some perceptible recoil when they realized they were alive. Then the king snake went up Quentin's sleeve—he was three or four feet long—and we hesitated to drag him back because his scales rendered that difficult. The last I saw of Quentin, one Congressman was gingerly helping him off with his jacket so as to let the snake crawl out of the upper end of the sleeve."[16]

On December 10, 1906, Theodore Roosevelt became the first American to win a Nobel Prize—for his efforts in bringing about the Russo-Japanese peace accord. After discussing with Edith what he should do with the $40,000 prize, he cabled the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs that the most fitting way to use the money would be to establish a permanent Industrial Peace Committee to strive for

"Whatever charges his enemies made against him, they never included dullness," he once wrote of Theodore. In January 1909 he had told a friend, "My last vision of fun and gaiety will vanish when my Theodore goes . . . Never can we replace him." In the end he could not bring himself to cross Lafayette Square to say goodbye, and explained why in a poignant letter to Edith:

> MY DEAR MRS. ROOSEVELT:
>
> Of all earthly trials, farewells are the worst. At the end of life they become intolerable. Is it not enough that I should have to look out of my window every moment, and that, whenever my eye falls on the White House the thought that you are not there should depress me, without having also to assume an air of cheerfulness and go to bid you goodbye as though we both like it?
>
> I have bid goodbye to my friends until I am quite broken up by it, and cannot go through the form any more. Washington is a city of tragedy. No other place ever has, or ever can approach it. Only in this last year I have lost nearly all of the persons and houses on whom I have been dependent; and nothing takes their place. . . .
>
> You are still a mere child and have lots to care for and to do, but I am a remnant,—Andrew Jackson and I,—in a sort of Niagara whirlpool, wobbling round and round, while my friends float gently down the river to the sea.
>
> I send you this wail only to explain why I failed to see you off. The least decorative object that I know is my own figure at a ceremony. The least cheerful animal on earth is myself at a farewell. The woodchuck is best in his hole, and at least spares you his shadow. . . .
>
> *Ever yrs*
>
> HENRY ADAMS[42]

Theodore's reluctance to quit the Executive Mansion was well known. "I have had a great run for my money," he wrote Kermit, "and I should have liked to stay in as President if I had felt it was right for me to do so; but there are many compensations about going, and Mother and I are in the curious and very pleasant position of having enjoyed the White House more than any other President and