

THE ROOSEVELT PERIOD

DURING the Presidential campaign of 1900 Theodore Roosevelt and I spent a Sunday together in Kansas City. I had been elected to the Senate and he was candidate for Vice President. This was our first opportunity for extended conversation since the outbreak of the war with Spain. During the afternoon we took a long horseback ride into Kansas. Even then I was very much in favor of Colonel Roosevelt's nomination by the Republican Party to succeed President McKinley when his second term should expire, and told him so. I had no doubt that McKinley and Roosevelt would be elected. Colonel Roosevelt was very frank about it and talked of the probabilities with the utmost unreserve. Among other things he pointed out the economic and social problems that were sure to arise, and said that the proper solution of them meant that the ruling politicians of the nation, the older and more eminent men of the country and great financial interests would likely be against him. I thought so, too, but said that it would be the hard-muscled men of the country and the young fellows who would make him President.

"By George," said he, "that's so. That's just it. What you call these 'hard-muscled' men feel the situation even if they do not understand it, and the young people see what is coming and are already getting themselves into shape to meet it. Right here round us as we ride we see the reason for the new period which the nation is entering. Not so very long ago all this country was unoccupied. Land was practically free, but now nearly all of it is taken up. In a few years there won't be an acre left."

No More Free Land

AFTER the war Colonel Roosevelt chafed a good deal. "He is always in a state of mind," President McKinley remarked to me one day. Colonel Roosevelt was then governor of New York. The cause of his chafing was the economic conditions of the country, to which he was extremely sensitive. He believed that the nation was approaching an economic and social crisis. When, therefore, upon the assassination of President McKinley, he suddenly found himself in the Presidential chair he had a good idea of the new period upon which the country was entering, and in a general way of the laws and policies which that new period required. America had reached the point where a transition from an outworn to a modern economic and social order was indispensable. To effect this transition was the great work of Theodore Roosevelt's life, and it is the accomplishment of that fundamental change that makes his career epochal.

He became President of the United States just after one of the most serious developments in American history. This development was the disappearance of free land. Until that point of time which marks the beginning of what always will be called "The Roosevelt Period" anybody could get a farm and a home of his own by the simple process of taking up substantially free land and living upon it. This process indeed had been going on since before the Revolution. Those who were in debt or felt the pressure of taxes or who wanted to own the land they tilled simply moved out into the wilderness or settled upon the prairies. So it was that such a thing as industrial pressure, in the sense we now understand that term, did not exist.

Moreover, immediately after the Civil War there was a prodigious outburst of constructive energy. A great part of the continent still was to be occupied. Railroads were to be built; bridges to be constructed; cities erected. There was more than enough work for everybody in this

By Albert J. Beveridge

country and for all of the immigrants from other lands. Indeed the necessity for labor was so great that manufacturing and other industries that suddenly took on immense proportions resorted to every expedient—some of them very bad—to bring cheap European labor to America.

For a long time, however, there was no labor congestion—first because there was so much work to be done, and secondly because free land constantly drew people away from industrial centers. Free land was an outlet for discontent.

than of collective effort. Social ideals were scarcely recognized and the community spirit was very frail. The first manifestation of the cooperative idea came in the form of great business organizations and the consolidation of railroad companies owning parts of the same lines into large corporations, controlling and operating long and unified systems. All this was natural and inevitable. Indeed the very necessities of the people themselves called for and created these great economic units. Without them it was impossible to supply promptly and adequately the needs of the people. For instance, the increase of what is called the laboring population—those

employed in other industries than agriculture—required food supplies, the preparation and distribution of which could be accomplished only by immense organizations. Speaking by and large, the same was true of course of other forms of industry.

This economic evolution went forward, however, under the individualist principles which an entirely different state of things had created. In short, while natural forces had totally revolutionized industry the old ideals still prevailed, though they no longer applied to the existing facts of life. We had emerged into a new period, but we still clung to ancient formulas of thinking.

Labor Conditions

IT WAS in this wise that the heads of great business organizations insisted upon running them according to ancient individualist maxims. The courts of course continued to decide controversies arising from these new conditions by old rules which no longer fitted them.

No matter how great a business organization became, no matter how extensive its dealings with the people, no matter how dependent millions of human beings were upon these organizations, the managers of these mammoth concerns conducted them as though the concerns themselves were individuals. No moral legal duty to the public was admitted—a fact which, recent though it is, is hard now for us to realize.

A great packing plant, for example, did its business with the public on precisely the same economic principles as an individual butcher dealing with individual customers. Immense railroad systems did the transporting of the nation upon the same legal basis that an old-time wagoner or a stagecoach owner hauled small parcels of merchandise or carried a few passengers. The kind of service rendered, the rates fixed, the quality of food and the manner of its preparation and the prices charged

for it were held to be none of the people's business, but solely the affair of the producing and transporting companies.

Thus American business became obsessed of a frenzy for gain. The spirit of greed ruled American industry. This showed itself in shocking form in many other ways than the illustrations already given. Hundreds of thousands—millions, in fact—of children were put to work in factories, mines and sweat shops at a period in their lives when such labor meant their physical and intellectual ruin.

Moreover, labor was regarded as a commodity. The economic theories of Adam Smith governed the treatment of workingmen by employers. Labor conditions therefore became worse as industrial congestion increased. The human element of the problem of labor received less and less consideration; indeed the "humanities" were not recognized by the ancient economic philosophy upon which modern industry still continued to be operated.

Thus is revealed the vast, complicated and delicate problem, national in its scope, which required solution when

(Continued on Page 49)



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The Inaugural Address of President Roosevelt, March 4, 1905

Finally this outlet was closed. Free land was all gone. The human tide had reached its last frontier, the Pacific Ocean, and was turned back upon itself. Such was the beginning of those economic and social conditions that had developed by the time Colonel Roosevelt had become President. These conditions were indicated by labor troubles growing out of industrial congestion and by a general unrest among the masses of the people. It became necessary for the nation to adjust itself to an entirely new situation which the disappearance of free land had brought about.

Not only had millions upon millions of unoccupied acres prevented those industrial blood clots which old and thickly settled countries always had experienced, and thus created an economic and social state of things peculiar to America and entirely abnormal; but this fact, continuing through more than a century, had also built up an individualism such as the world never had seen before.

Men thought and acted solely from the viewpoint of what they believed to be their personal advantage. The common talk was of rights rather than of duties, of individual rather

(Concluded from Page 46)

And now once more he found himself swiftly traversing great black spaces, impelled by an awful inexorable force. This time, however, it was more like falling. He was a lost soul.

As he dived down and down, turning over, righting himself, turning over again, like a body falling from the cornice of a skyscraper, he found his voice and uttered a despairing cry: "Molly! Molly! Oh, Molly!"

And then, while the sound of that great wail still echoed in his ears, he heard—oh, wonder of wonders!—the voice of Molly close beside him, and felt her hand seize his.

"Yes, Shelley. I'm here."

"Is it really you?"

"Yes, dear." He felt the reassuring pressure of her hand. "Everything is all right. Just rest quietly."

He wished to clutch her hand with both of his, but his free hand would not move.

"Don't let go! Don't leave me!"

"I won't. Don't worry, dear. I'll stay right here."

Now he was no longer plunging downward through the dark. At her touch the hideous flight had been arrested. No doubt she was a power, up here. Hand in hand they were floating easily along. Peace filled his heart.

"How did you get here?" he managed to ask her.

"Of course I came as soon as I heard."

Of course! How like her!

"Was it far to come?" he murmured.

"It seemed far," she said softly.

He wept for happiness.

"We're going to begin all over again," he told her. "They've given me another chance. You're going to be happy, dear."

"I am happy—just to be here with you."

He pressed her hand again.

"God is merciful!" he said.

"Yes, dear, He is. Now try to rest."

Still clinging to her hand he slept.

Next day he was able to hear all about it. His arm was fractured, his body bruised

and his scalp had been cut by glass. Mrs. Davenport had fared better, escaping with hardly more than a severe shaking up. The chauffeur had been thrown against the steering wheel and had several broken ribs.

"It's a miracle," he said, "that nobody was killed."

"Yes," Molly replied. "Mrs. Davenport feels she owes her escape, perhaps even her life, to you."

The subject did not seem to interest him. "You know we met by accident out there?" he asked eagerly.

"Yes. She told me."

"I couldn't very well get out of riding in with her, Molly."

"Of course you couldn't, dear." Then she added: "She wants to come and see you as soon as you feel well enough."

Two or three days later, when Molly had left to see about his broth, the floor nurse entered his neat little white-painted room, saying: "A visitor to see you, Mr. Wickett."

Simultaneously he heard voices in the corridor outside. He recognized the voices. One was Molly's. One was that of the fashionable surgeon in whose care he was. The third was Mrs. Davenport's.

He heard Molly greet the handsome lady and introduce the surgeon to her. Then he heard the surgeon say in his most ingratiating manner: "I recognized Mrs. Davenport at once. I've often seen her, though we never met before."

"Oh, I've known you by sight for a long time, doctor," Mrs. Davenport replied in a tone that made Wickett think of dripping sirup.

"I'm flattered indeed!" the surgeon answered truthfully. "The more so since you seem never to see anyone."

"Ah, but I do, though!" she answered. "For ages I've had a name of my own for you. To myself I always call you 'the man that wears such pretty scarfs.'"

Wickett closed his eyes.

"Nurse," he said hurriedly, "I don't feel well enough for visitors to-day."

THE ROOSEVELT PERIOD

(Continued from Page 10)

Theodore Roosevelt became President. There was, too, a collateral problem to be worked out; and this, though the inevitable result of the state of things that I have tried to outline, was peculiarly ugly and formidable.

In order to resist the growing demand for some sort of check upon their practices, in order to safeguard what they felt to be their privileges, and indeed to secure even greater and more unjust privileges, the great transporting, manufacturing and other industrial corporations went into politics. In a very practical way they were united. They always acted in concert, with perfect understanding, and they knew exactly what they wanted to prevent and what they wanted to get. Their agents were present at the meetings of every state legislature and every session of Congress. Expensive lobbies were maintained permanently, and a certain class of men developed who made legislative manipulation their profession. Moreover, these closely allied business concerns, acting under the old theory that they ought to do as they pleased, became, for the purposes above stated, very active and potent in the management of political parties. As is now well known they often were able to elect or defeat candidates for state legislatures and also candidates for the national House and Senate. In brief a powerful and utterly non-public influence grew up, the workings of which, though unseen, had a great deal to do with the making and execution of laws, both state and national.

The economic wrongs suffered by the people afforded an ideal opportunity for demagogic agitation. There was a strident demand that great business organizations should be dissolved. Trusts, we were told, must be abolished. Unlimited and unrestrained competition must be restored, it was said—though every student knew that this was destructive, wasteful, and at war with modern industrial and business evolution. A more difficult situation never faced a statesman. On the one hand big business organizations demanded that no control whatever should be exercised over them, and on the other hand it was asserted that they should be utterly annihilated. Both were wrong. The well-being of the nation

required that great industrial units should be preserved and even strengthened, but also that they should not be permitted to exploit the people.

It was the adjustment of social and industrial America to the new order of things that constitutes what will be known in history as The Roosevelt Period. This adjustment meant the introduction as a working principle of the idea of government supervision and regulation of business organizations which had become so large that the people had to depend upon them for transportation and the necessities of life. So came the fight for various laws regulative of railroads, laws for the supervision of trusts, for the inspection of meat and food, for the abolition of child labor, for the betterment of labor conditions, for conservation laws, for a businesslike method of tariff alteration, and that whole body of legislation of which the instances given are examples.

Well for the republic that Theodore Roosevelt undertook these fundamental reforms. A President of shorter and narrower vision, colder sympathies and smaller courage would have brought on a national catastrophe; abuses had become so sharp and the public sense of injustice so keen that the country was fast reaching a point where explosion surely would have occurred. Had the demands of the people been denied much longer either a Bolshevik party would have arisen and a recklessly radical President been elected or an extreme and obstinate conservative Administration would have been chosen by a combination of all elements who saw and dreaded the coming upheaval. In the former case the country would have been plunged into economic chaos and financial disaster; in the latter case a bloody collision could hardly have been avoided, brought on, as such conflicts always have been produced, by blind and pig-headed denial, backed by force, of the reasonable and just demands of the public. After all, history is the wisest of counselors, since human nature and the order of the universe do not yet appear to have been abolished.

Though it was but yesterday, historically speaking, that the United States was thus transformed to modern conceptions and practices of business and life, the world

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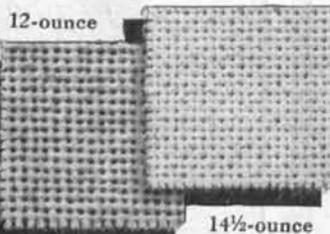
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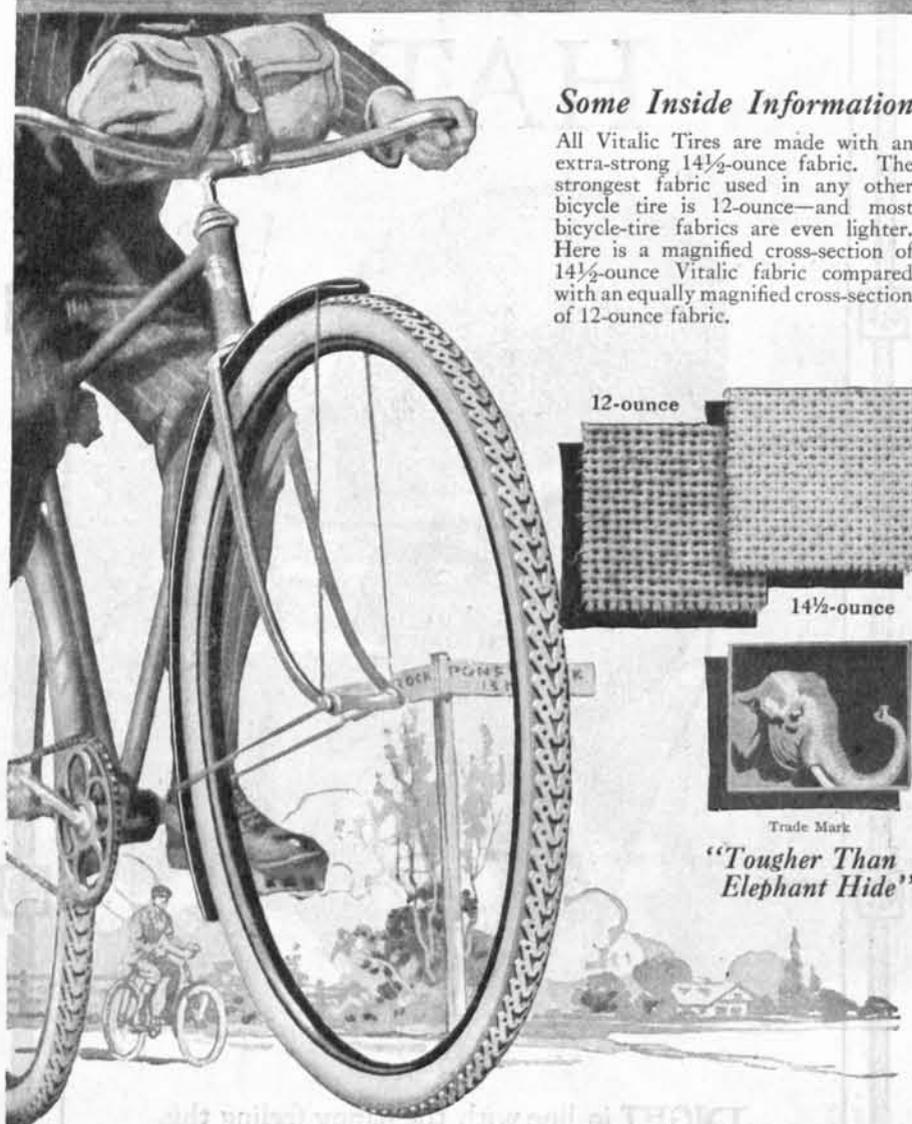
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has moved forward so rapidly that the struggle to effect that transformation already seems to be a thing of the distant past. The wisdom, justice and utility of all those reforms begun during the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt and mostly accomplished during the Roosevelt Period—for that period embraces succeeding Administrations as well as his own—are already conceded by everybody, even by those who fought them most bitterly.

Recent as this great political and legislative conflict was, it is even now hard for us to realize the ferocity of it. So great was the power of the influences that resisted those reforms, so able, courageous and experienced were the men who opposed them, so unorganized was public opinion on the one hand and so perfectly disciplined the forces which wished to keep things as they were on the other hand that it seemed a hopeless task to attempt to accomplish anything.

The interplay within the two great political parties of the allied reactionary forces made any effort to secure liberal legislation infinitely more difficult; and this difficulty was increased by demagogic resistance to any measures, however scientific and approved, that so much as recognized the legal existence of great corporations. Absurd as it now appears it nevertheless was a fact that the extremists of reaction and the extremists of radicalism worked together, without intending to do so, for the defeat of every common-sense and up-to-date reform that conditions imperatively demanded. True statesmanship—the moderate, the reasonable and the just—sometimes has had hard sledding even in a republic.

It was in waging this long-continued warfare that the character, strength and personality of Theodore Roosevelt were most fully revealed. He was a very able politician and understood from experience in New York the working of political organizations and the methods employed by those who then controlled them. He knew that to accomplish anything really practical, at that particular time, he must work with the political system as he found it, bring the leaders to agreement with him as far as possible, and hold over organizations and leaders alike that appeal to public opinion, of the art of making which he was so great a master.

A Man of Broad Sympathies

In short he had to act as a statesman. He could not, therefore, become what one might term a professional crusader—could not engage in the business of a civic evangelist. He went to the people only when it was necessary to arouse them and to crystallize their will upon specific and practical purposes.

So in dealing with the strong men of Congress, who, generally speaking, were against him and his policies, he did not, except in a very few instances, close and bolt the door against them. Most of them always could enter and work with him when, no matter for what reason, they were ready to help him with any measure the enactment of which, at the moment, happened to be the particular task he had in hand. Only a man of catholic sympathies and the gift of liking the most widely different types of men and appreciating good qualities in them could be capable of this. And just that in pre-eminence degree was the kind of man Theodore Roosevelt was.

For example, no two men could possibly be more unlike in make-up and views of life than Senator Matthew Quay, of Pennsylvania, and William Allen White, of Kansas. Yet, as is well known, though Colonel Roosevelt cherished an ardent affection for the younger man and trusted him implicitly he was also fond of Senator Quay personally. He liked Quay's audacity and frankness and he admired the genius of the Pennsylvania boss, who in addition to being one of the greatest politicians in American history was also one of the most intellectual and widely read men in the political life of that time. The feeling was reciprocated and whenever he could do so without interfering with his own plans or the interests of those who supported him Quay would help Roosevelt; and often did so.

"I must confess," President Roosevelt said to me one day, "that I have a personal liking for Quay. He stands for nearly everything that I am against, but he is straightforward about it and never tries to fool me."

In his management of the Presidency and of his party while he was at the head of it Colonel Roosevelt consulted freely with other men. The late Senator Eugene Hale, of Maine, who during the two Roosevelt Administrations was the real leader of the Senate whenever he saw fit to take the trouble, and who sincerely and stubbornly opposed nearly all the Roosevelt reforms, once told me that in all his very long experience in public life he had never known a man who sought counsel so much as did President Roosevelt.

"And yet," said Senator Hale, "most people think that he is impulsive and won't even listen to advice, much less take it. I can't imagine," said he, "how such an idea got out."

This erroneous public conception of Colonel Roosevelt was undoubtedly due to his quick and emphatic manner of speaking, to his strenuous physical habits and actions, and to his apparently abrupt decisions. Also of course, by methods so well known to the politician, his enemies in both parties, his own party as well as the opposition party, spread reports of his "impulsiveness." It is one of the small defects of democracies that a totally false idea can be planted in the minds of the people concerning one who is fighting the people's battles.

Personal Characteristics

As a matter of fact Colonel Roosevelt never took an important step until he had asked for the opinion and collected the judgment of a large number of men. While in the White House his consultations were almost incessant. Sometimes he asked several men to gather about him at the same time and compare views; sometimes he would ask one man to come to the White House and go over thoroughly the matter to be decided. Often these conferences would last for hours. What he required on such occasions was clear, cold, practical thinking. A display of emotion usually made a bad impression upon him. Many men whom Colonel Roosevelt liked and trusted were dropped from his list of advisers after two or three interviews because their comment had more heat than light.

This unemotional quality of Theodore Roosevelt was also well illustrated in controversies over patronage. When senators, representatives and influential politicians would urge a certain appointment chiefly on grounds of political expediency or factional favoritism, on the one hand, or as a means of conciliating opposition with veiled threats of retaliation if the President did not yield, President Roosevelt reacted strongly against both such pleas—especially if they were presented with fervor.

I have known of instances in more than one state where he rebuked an entire Congressional delegation who demanded appointments as matters of political right or rather as matters of political pull, and instead appointed a man whose friends did no more than coldly lay before the President the candidate's superior qualifications for the office. And I have known of many cases where supporters failed because enthusiasm instead of facts was advanced. Unemotional argument based on proof was the surest road to his approval.

In consultation as to measures which he wished Congress to pass or policies which he was formulating or political steps to be taken he was the easiest man to talk to I ever knew. If he was convinced of your sincerity you could say anything to him you liked. You could even criticize him personally. His close friends often thought he actually invited personal criticism. He would argue the subject out with the greatest possible frankness and without the slightest trace of resentment or irritation. On the contrary no man could be more wary than he, no man could fence with more skill if he suspected that the person with whom he was talking was unfriendly, insincere or even subtle. If he detected falsehood or sharp practices his anger instantly was aroused.

He usually accepted the judgment of the majority of his advisers. While he was President he had about him a number of men who were sound counselors and fearless friends, and no man could have more generously acknowledged indebtedness to others than President Roosevelt to these men. He was very fortunate in his secretary, Mr. William Loeb, Jr., who had

(Continued on Page 53)

(Continued from Page 50)

been his secretary while governor of New York and continued in that capacity while Colonel Roosevelt was President.

Much of his success was due to his open-mindedness. He had a boundless hospitality for ideas. He welcomed thought from whatever source, especially constructive thought. He was quick to adopt the ideas of others, but he did not fail to give them the credit. For example, the originator of the policy of conservation was Gifford Pinchot. Mr. Pinchot first thought out that whole scheme of statesmanship, tested it by discussion with friends, and then laid the perfected plan before the President. Mr. Roosevelt promptly accepted it, but gladly proclaimed Mr. Pinchot's authorship.

There was something chivalrous about his generosity. Friends and even enemies were frequently surprised by the most unexpected exhibitions of this quality. An instance in my own experience—one of many—will illustrate how vigilant Colonel Roosevelt was in this respect. After the meat-inspection bill had become a law—the fight over that measure had been one of the most desperate in our legislative history—stories were sent out that the President himself had conceived the idea, had ordered the measure drawn and had handed it to me to be introduced. Obviously I could say nothing; and it was all right any way, since that important reform never would have had the slightest chance of accomplishment had not President Roosevelt thrown himself into the fight with every ounce of his personal power and all the resources of the Administration. The real credit was justly his.

Yet on July 1, 1906, I received from President Roosevelt the following letter:

"My dear Senator Beveridge: I send you herewith the pen with which I signed the Agricultural bill containing the meat inspection clauses. You were the man who first called my attention to the abuses in the packing houses. You were the legislator who drafted the bill which in its substance now appears in the amendment to the Agricultural bill, and which will enable us to put a complete stop to the wrongdoing complained of. The pen is worth nothing in itself, but I am glad to send it to you as the expression of my acknowledgment of your services.

"With all good wishes, believe me,

"Faithfully yours,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

I was as surprised as I was pleased and telephoned my thanks to Secretary Loeb. "Have you given it to the press?" asked Mr. Loeb.

"Why no, of course not. It's a private letter," I answered.

"Nonsense," said Mr. Loeb; "give it out—that's what it was written for."

The Colonel's Friends

Stupidity disgusted him—even when one who was his friend would do or say anything stupid he could be very harsh. And dullness irritated him. It was hard for him not to show his impatience with the pallid and the commonplace. He abhorred banal conversation as much as he delighted in bright, witty, thoughtful and informed talk. His particular delight was in conversation with brilliant writers. A mere list of the names of his literary friends would fill several pages. Owen Wister was an especial favorite. He had an unbounded admiration for William Roscoe Thayer. At first Mr. Thayer was not one of his advocates, though later he became an enthusiastic and resourceful champion. Being a superconscientious man Mr. Thayer once told President Roosevelt in the presence of several hearers that he had not voted for him.

"Bill," said Colonel Roosevelt, "the man who can write the Life of Cavour can vote for anybody he pleases so far as I am concerned. What has your politics to do with my appreciation of your great book? You can't shut me out of your host of admirers by voting against me."

Their mutual love of literature was one of the many bonds between Colonel Roosevelt and Senator Lodge. "I should talk to Lodge about books if we disagreed on the Ten Commandments," he said to a too fervid supporter who was protesting against the President's intimacy with the Massachusetts senator when the latter, with fine independence, was opposing some measure of the Administration.

Few men ever lived who had so many and such attractive phases of mind and character. It seemed impossible that one person could have read so much, so variously and with such understanding. On one long campaign trip I found him reading, between stops, Moreau's Memoirs in French. He never went anywhere without taking several books with him. While his extensive reading gave him an immense fund of that knowledge which books afford, his experience with men and the world had been so manifold, vivid and intense that he knew life at first hand from many angles.

He liked to talk of literature, of sport, of science, of travel, and especially of history, more than of politics or business in the narrow sense of those terms. It is not possible to imagine one more attractive and engaging in social intercourse. Misused as the word "charm" is, there is no other term that describes the effect of his personality on others. His talk and manner were as easy and as casual as they were sparkling and vital.

It is not difficult to bore a man so widely cultured, and this was true of Colonel Roosevelt. When even a supporter who had nothing in common with him except the politics of the day would insist on unnecessary conferences Colonel Roosevelt, though appreciating that friend's fidelity and assistance, was nevertheless frequently ill at ease with him. Sometimes such a person would lose favor because of the incessant monotony of the topics brought up and the conversations about them.

The Shooting in 1912

The movement Colonel Roosevelt led was to him a sacred cause. The spirit with which he led it was that of a soldier. His leadership was marked by a terrible fervor and also by an august dignity. He was absolutely unselfish and profoundly sincere about it. Indeed his sincerity and unselfishness had a kind of exaltation. This is proved by the message he sent to the people just after he was shot in the campaign of 1912, and at an hour when it was not certain whether he would live or die.

As soon as Colonel Roosevelt had been taken from Milwaukee to the hospital in Chicago the secretary of the National Committee, Mr. Oscar King Davis, who was with him, telephoned to me in the southern part of my state, where I was speaking, to cancel all engagements and come to Chicago immediately. When I arrived at the hospital I asked Doctor Murphy, the surgeon in charge, what were the prospects of recovery. He answered that nothing certain could be predicted at that time, but that he believed Colonel Roosevelt would survive. When I went to his bedside he greeted me as though nothing had happened, and then said:

"The meeting at Louisville, Kentucky, to-morrow night, where I was to have spoken, must not be abandoned. One of my written speeches was to have been made there. I have sent for you to ask you to fill that engagement. You ought not, of course, to read my prepared speech. But I want you to give a certain part of it. Principally, however, I wish you to give a message from me to the people. I am not strong enough to dictate it, but I can outline the general idea."

I took his manuscript and that night and the next day wrote the speech he asked me to deliver, including in it the paragraphs from his written address which he had requested to be given out. I drafted the message he sent to the people, telephoned it to Mr. Davis, who submitted it to Colonel Roosevelt, and received his approval; and that night I delivered it.

It was in such fashion that the wounded leader in Chicago thus spoke to the nation from the platform of Phoenix Hall, Louisville, Kentucky, on the night of October 17, 1912. I quote from the report in the Louisville Herald of the following day:

"It matters little about me, but it matters all about the cause we fight for. If one soldier who happens to carry the flag is stricken another will take it from his hands and carry it on. One after another the standard bearers may be laid low, but the standard itself will never fall. You know that personally I did not want ever again to be a candidate for office. And you know that only the call that came to the men of the Sixties made me answer it in our day as they did more nobly in their day. And now, as then, it is not important whether one leader lives or dies. It is important

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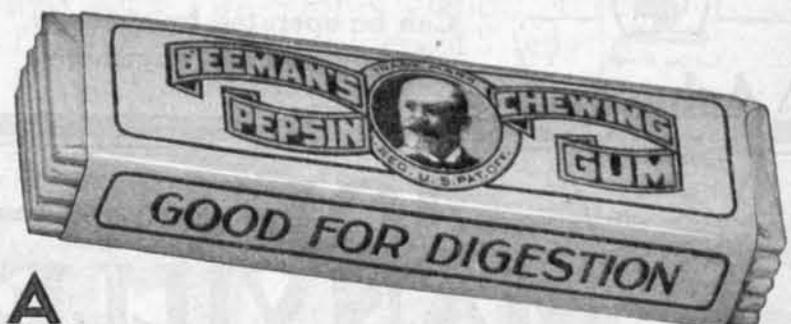


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A FEELING of heaviness after eating with the attendant annoyances that come with slight attacks of indigestion will sooner or later depress the most hopeful and optimistic. No person in business can do his or her best under these conditions.

If men and women will eat more regularly and less hurriedly, use greater care in selecting their food—especially at midday—they will do much to insure a good digestion; and if they will make a practice of chewing a stick of my original pepsin gum for ten to twenty minutes after each meal, as a further aid to digestion, they will be surprised and gratified at the result. And don't forget a good digestion is a great advantage in mental and business efficiency.

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Johns-Manville FIRE EXTINGUISHER

THIS is the end that you aim at the fire. Be sure that the extinguisher you select looks like this, then you will know that it has the exclusive features necessary to extinguisher protection.

Note and see that the nozzle on the machine you select is in-set. Then no damage can come to it if the extinguisher is accidentally dropped, or roughly handled, as is so apt to happen in the haste of fire fighting—particularly in tight places. And here the Johns-Manville Extinguisher is supreme.

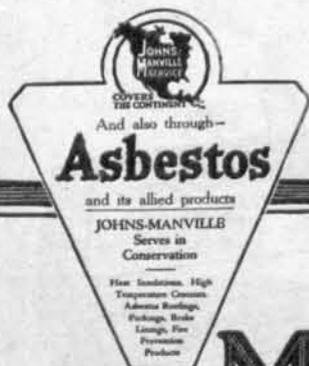
For by air pressure stored up while you are getting to the fire it is only necessary to push the lever and a strong, non-pulsating, pressure-thrown stream goes right to the base of the flame.

You can operate the extinguisher by hand pumping and still get the same steady stream—but where there is no room to pump or where it is dangerously awkward to do so, the pressure-thrown method makes you still the master of the fire. The Johns-Manville Fire Extinguisher gives you maximum protection and secures 15% reduction in automobile fire insurance premiums.

To the Trade—If you are a dealer and not handling the Johns-Manville Fire Extinguisher, talk about its sales possibilities with your Jobber. Let him tell you about the Dealer policy that protects you against indiscriminate competition.

H. W. JOHNS-MANVILLE CO.
New York City
10 Factories—Branches in 63 Large Cities

Can be operated by anybody,
in any position, anywhere



JOHNS-MANVILLE

Serves in Conservation

only that the cause shall live and win. Tell the people not to worry about me; for if I go down another will take my place. Always the army is there. Always the cause is there; and it is the cause for which the people should care, for it is the people's cause."

These sentences from a man who had no assurance that he would be alive when they were spoken prove his deep sincerity and reveal his conception of that great American advance movement of which he was the captain.

Colonel Roosevelt was infinitely proud of the fact that the new party which he tried to establish polled a great majority of the Republican votes of the country, and a large number of Democratic votes. Earnest as he was to found a liberal party in America, just as Jefferson may be said to have founded the original Republican Party, Jackson the Democratic Party, and Lincoln the new Republican Party, and keen as was his disappointment that his efforts were not successful, he did not think that they had been in vain.

He was convinced that the historic movement of which he was the supreme exponent saved the Republican Party from the doom that overtook the Federalist and Whig parties. He believed that but for the great liberal advance of which he was the standard bearer the Republican Party would have become hopelessly reactionary, just as was the case with the Federalist and Whig parties, and just as has been the case with old political parties in other free countries.

Since the spirit of the whole world was distinctly liberal, since indeed the very elements of our industrial and social development required that political parties keep pace with that development, Colonel Roosevelt believed that for any political party to resist the transition which the American people were undergoing meant the inevitable decline and early extinction of that party.

"We have put life into our party," meaning the Republican Party, he remarked to me not long before his last illness. "We have made it a party of to-day—a party that young men and women can come into with good heart. So our work has borne sound fruit."

He felt indeed that his labors during the Roosevelt Period had permanently ended outworn political methods and liberalized the Democratic as well as the Republican Party. He believed that he had destroyed reactionary influences in American life for a long time to come.

That part of his work accomplished, he again became the most active of Republicans and soon was accorded by common consent the leadership of the rejuvenated and reunited party. Had he lived there can be little doubt that in 1920 the Republican Party would have nominated him by acclamation for the Presidency.

Foreign Policies

Only second in importance to his achievement of liberalizing American politics and effecting the great economic and social transition already described was what he proposed and accomplished in foreign affairs.

Theodore Roosevelt stopped the Russo-Japanese War. His direct appeal to the Czar and to the Mikado—an appeal that had in it a faint trace of command—was as brilliant a display of genius as history records. Of course the head of no other government could have made that appeal. Because of America's peculiar situation on the globe and freedom from the embarrassments that hampered all other nations the Government of the United States was the only one that could ask both Russia and Japan to stop fighting. But, even so, very few American Presidents would have hazarded the bold step that President Roosevelt took.

His foreign statesmanship was singularly clear and simple. It was based on two principles: First that of nationalism—"the most intense American nationalism," as he put it; and second that our particular province is the Western Hemisphere. From these conceptions of America's place and mission in the world flowed the Roosevelt South American policy, the Roosevelt Cuban policy, the Roosevelt Canal policy, the Roosevelt Mexican policy—that American world policy, in short, which grew naturally out of our history and our geographical situation, and of which Colonel Roosevelt was the latest champion.

A proper treatment of this subject would require an article by itself. In this paper the foreign statesmanship of Theodore Roosevelt cannot, for obvious reasons, be enlarged upon. This much, however, may be said here without impropriety: If he could have had his way our relations with Mexico would long since have been established on a basis as solid and advantageous to both countries, at the very least, as that upon which our relations with Cuba are grounded.

His crowning achievement was his Herculean labor to compel the United States to take part in the European War. Strenuous as was his whole life, he put more energy into his appeals to the people during the two years preceding our entrance into that conflict than he displayed at any other period of his career. During that time he did indeed become a crusader. At no time in his life was he ever so passionate, so brilliant, so clear, so powerful.

A Flame of Righteousness

Though his illness and death may be traced to the effects of his South American exploration, it seems reasonable that the prodigious exertions of his last three years made such drafts on his vitality as to hasten the end. So probable does this appear that friends like to think that his life went up in a great flame of righteousness.

However opponents may have misjudged him and ascribed other motives to him in the various phases of his career, those who were near Colonel Roosevelt knew and know that every determinative step he took during his busy life was at bottom inspired by profound moral purpose. The motive power within him was always ethical conviction.

In the matter of the recent war he did not take sides as early as some, but he did take his stand sooner than most. Seemingly many months passed before he fully grasped the real issue involved. But when that issue became clear to him he gave every power of mind, body and soul to convince the people that this nation ought to and must enter the war on the side of the Allies. He believed that the survival of liberty throughout the world required the defeat of the Central Powers. This conviction was so intense and exalted that it had all the ardor of religious faith.

After we declared war Colonel Roosevelt was all anxiety that we should strike with all our might. He became very impatient as the months of preparation passed, and denounced with bitterness our failure to make ready for the struggle, our participation in which he believed inevitable.

From the time we entered the war he was sure that Germany would be defeated ultimately—he knew that this country never would stop until it was victorious. But from the Battle of Château-Thierry he knew that the triumphant end was in sight.

Characteristically he then turned his mind to the conditions in which the country will find itself within two or three years from the ending of the war. He considered that the period through which the country will pass during the next Administration, and perhaps the next two Administrations, will be of the very gravest character—more serious than any since the Civil War—and that we ought to get ready for that period not only by devising practical measures and methods to deal with the conditions that will soon confront us but also by putting ourselves into the proper state of mind to endure the trials we must undergo.

I do not think that his mind ever worked with greater precision than in differentiating that species of anarchism which we popularly term "Bolshevism" from that form of normal progress called liberalism. On this point he had great fear that the protest against Bolshevism would throw liberal men into the ranks of reaction—a result that, in turn, would surely strengthen the very Bolshevism it was intended to defeat. He believed that the road ahead of us is perilous and that only by exercise of steady common sense and self-restraint can we travel it without disaster.

As has always been true of men of the first class, the stature of Theodore Roosevelt as a historic character will grow in magnitude as time passes. Even in four or five years we shall realize more fully than we now do how great a man he was; we shall then be better able to appreciate how much the American nation lost when Theodore Roosevelt died.